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HISTORY OF INDIA.

FROM THE

EARLIEST TIMES TO 1880

BY

WILLIAM C. PEARCE,

AUTHOR OF "ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH HISTORY," ETC.



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FATHER G. RYAN
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PREFACE.

THE present volume was undertaken with a view of furnishing the youthful student with a brief but comprehensive history of the most ancient and interesting portion of the British Empire.

The dominions of our sovereign beyond the seas—from their vast extent, increasing population, and boundless resources—are gaining so rapidly in importance, that a knowledge of them is now scarcely less necessary than an acquaintance with the history of our own country. To this condition of things the supervisors of British education have become alive; and a neglect of the subject cannot be long tolerated in our schools.

If so much importance attaches to the British dependencies in general, the portion under notice has special claims upon our attention, inasmuch as its history, replete with interesting incidents, is, in a great measure, a chronicle of the deeds of some of the foremost names in English story.

Such considerations, it is hoped, will be found to justify the Publishers in adding this to their historical series.

W. O. P.

THE WOODLANDS, *October, 1875.*

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HISTORY OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION.

Part I.—Physical Features.

General Description of the Country—Its great Physical Divisions—The Himalayan Region—Its Western, Central, and Eastern Portions—The Great Plain of the Ganges—Of the Indus—The Highlands of Central India—Table-Land of Malwar—The Deccan—The Vindhya Hills—The Western Ghauts—The Eastern Ghauts—The Neilgherries—Southern India—Ceylon.

THERE are few countries in the universe, geographically speaking, more interesting than India.* An epitome of the vast continent with which it is associated—that portion of the globe which, perhaps, beyond any other, answers to the description of the poet:

“A world of wonders, where creation seems
No more the works of nature, but her dreams.”

It presents a diversity of surface, and a variety and grandeur of aspect which could scarcely be surpassed by the creations of the most fertile imagination. Here the

* Or Hindustan, which term comes from the Persian, and signifies the country of the Hindus. It is employed to denominate the cis-Gangetic peninsula, or that part of India, or the East Indies, which lies upon the western side of the River Ganges. The length of this peninsula from north to south is 1800 miles, and its greatest breadth along the parallel of 25° north latitude, about 1500 miles. Its area is about 1,300,000 square miles.

terraced heights of a gigantic mountain chain, towering to the clouds, and shrouded in the mantle of eternal snow, look down into hollows of unfathomable depth, shelve gently into valleys traversed by the feeders of the mighty rivers of the peninsula, or tower above thickly-wooded glens of sublime and desolate grandeur. There the expanse of a boundless plain—for the most part covered with luxuriant vegetation, and crossed by the waters of the most majestic streams of the continent—sweeps across the land from its eastern to its western boundary. Now, a stretch of country presenting the appearance of a rough and broken table-land with an extensive plateau beyond it, in parts monotonously level and treeless, in other quarters a pleasing alternation of hill and valley. The whole of this latter district is bounded by precipitous and well-wooded mountain chains—in some places shelving to the sea, in others presenting a rocky rampart to its waters.

Nor is the botanical aspect of the country less varied and interesting than are its physical features. Possessing, by reason of its extent and diversity of surface, a climate varying from tropical heat to Arctic rigour, and a soil watered by innumerable streams, and unusually fertile, the vegetable productions of the entire world contribute to clothe and beautify its surface. “Its vast plains present the double harvests, the luxuriant foliage, and even the burning deserts of the torrid zone; the lower heights are enriched by the fruits and grains of the temperate climates; the upper steppes are clothed with vast pine-forests of the north; while the highest pinnacles are buried beneath the perpetual snows of the Arctic zone. We do not here, as in Africa and the polar regions, see nature under one uniform aspect; on the contrary, we have to trace gradual, yet complete transitions, between the most opposite extremes that can exist on the surface of the same planet.”

The features above mentioned divide India physically into five regions, namely—(1) the *Himalayan Region*; (2) the *Great Plain*; (3) the *Vindhyan Region*, or the hill

country of Central India; (4) the *Deccan*; and (5) the *Southern Region*. Each region has its own peculiar characteristic.

The most strongly-marked of these is the **Himalayan Region**, embracing as it does a mountain system, unparalleled in its extent and sublimity by any other range of the Old World, and unequalled in many respects—as, for instance, in the loftiness of its peaks—by the gigantic systems of the New. For the space of 1000 miles, there may be traced a continuous line 21,000 feet above the sea, from which, as a base, detached peaks ascend to the additional height of 5000 or 6000 feet, and in all probability 9000. The inhabitants of the Bengal plain must contemplate, with no little wonder, this long array of white pinnacles forming the boundary of the distant horizon. The range in question passes along the northern portion of the country from west to east, a distance of some 1500 miles, its breadth varying from 80 to 120 miles; while its mass embraces an area of something like 15,000 superficial miles, or nearly twice that of Great Britain.

For the sake of convenience, the range may be divided into three portions—the *Western*, *Central*, and *Eastern*. The western portion may be said to commence with the *Gusie Mountains*, a snow-capped ridge which, protruding into the great south bend of the Indus, runs in a parallel direction to its upper course. The *Sutlej* and other tributaries of the Indus take their rise in this part of the range; and here the ridge is crossed by many and important passes. These media of communication between Hindustan and the highlands of Thibet are, owing to the structure of the mountains, perilous in the highest degree; the roads, which in some places are carried over the tops of the hills 20,000 feet above the sea-level, skirt the brink of awful precipices, pass in dangerous proximity to seething torrents, or thread a tortuous course through gloomy ravines, bordered by eminences which seem to reach the very skies.

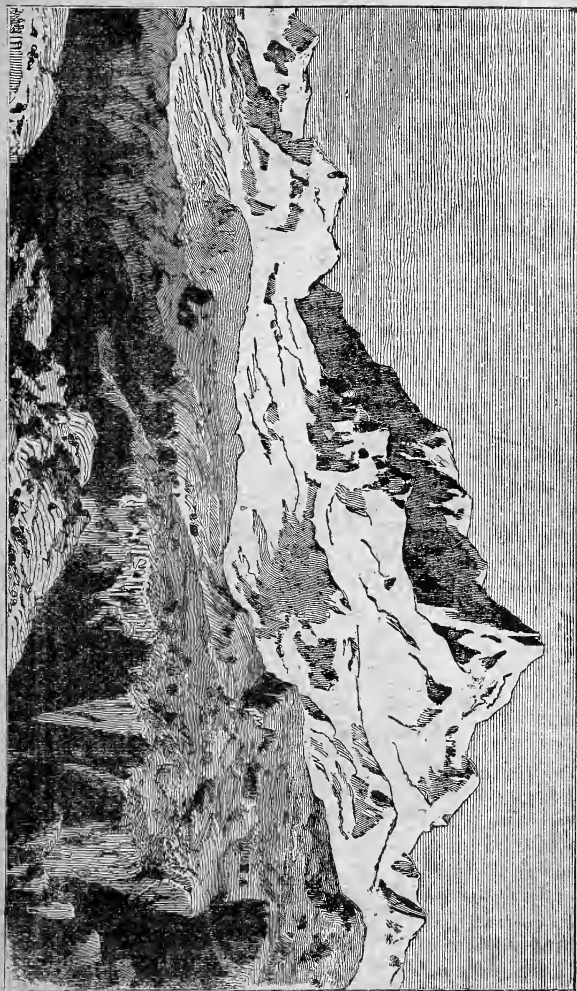
Connected with this portion of the range, and enclosed

by its ridges, is the Vale of Cashmere, so long and universally celebrated as a terrestrial paradise. It was in this delightful region, upon the shore of a lake formed by the waters brought down by the numerous mountain rills, that the Mogul sovereigns built a city of palaces; and hither they were wont to withdraw to enjoy what leisure they could snatch from the turmoils of government. Poets have never wearied of singing the delights of this region, of extolling the verdure of its hill sides, and praising the roses of its vales; while Cashmerean beauty has become a proverb. The fairy-like descriptions of this land have received considerable modification from the reports of modern travellers; still it would be difficult to find a spot which nature has more richly endowed with her gifts than this Himalayan vale.

The central portion of the Himalayas extends from the Sutlej valley, eastward, to Bootan. It is in the western part of this district that the sublimity of the range culminates; for, along the heads of the Jumna, Ganges, and Gogra, are massed some of the highest pinnacles in the universe. Nearly thirty peaks exceed the altitude of Chimborazo, and some attain the unparalleled height of nearly 30,000 feet, or about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Among these may be mentioned Dhawalagiri and Ghora Cotee. Here, too, the ridge is exceedingly broad, being composed of enormous masses protruding as spurs from the main chain. These offsets branch in every direction, and are separated from each other by long narrow valleys, or ravines. They are clothed in summer with luxuriant vegetation, but during the greater part of the winter they are buried in deep snow.

The aspect of the higher portion of the range has been thus described: "Generally speaking, the character of this mountain chain is rugged and stern; its ridges rise behind each other in awful array; but they enclose no rural scenes, nor present any gentle undulations. Their steep sides, sometimes wooded, sometimes presenting vast faces of naked rock, dip down abruptly, forming dark chasms and ravines, at the bottom of which there is

DEODHUNGA MOUNTAIN, HIMALAYA, THE HIGHEST ON THE GLOBE.



only room for the torrent to force its way through rude fragments fallen from the cliffs above." By far the greatest span of this central region is composed of the British province of Kumaon and the dominions of the rajah of Nepaul.

The eastern stretch of the Himalayas extends from the western frontier of Bootan to the Brahmapootra. The slopes of this portion of the range, which form a descent from the table-land of Thibet, are occupied by the province of Bootan. Upon the northern frontier of Bootan, where it abuts on the dominion of Sikkim, the highest summit of the Kunchinjunga Mountains about here, comprises the loftiest pinnacle of the world; while Chumilari, scarcely less lofty, attains the sublime altitude of some 28,000 feet. The pass of Soomoonang connected with this district, about 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, is one of the loftiest highways of the Himalayas.

Descending the slopes of this enormous mountain range we come upon our second territorial division, namely, the Plain Country of the Ganges and Indus. "The Himaleh range, where it touches on the champaign country, is almost everywhere girt with a peculiar belt or border called the Tarriani. This term is applied to a plain about 20 miles broad, upon which the waters from the higher regions are poured down in such profusion, that the river beds are unable to contain them. They accordingly overflow, and convert the ground into a species of swamp, which, acted on by the burning rays of a tropical sun, throws up an excessively rank vegetation, whereby the earth is choked rather than covered. The soil is concealed beneath a mass of dark and dismal foliage; while long grass and prickly shrubs shoot up so densely and so close, as to form an almost impenetrable barrier. It is still more awfully guarded by the pestilential vapours exhaling from those dark recesses, which make it at certain seasons a region of death."

The Gangetic plain may be considered the most important portion of the country, inasmuch as it is the most thoroughly cultivated, the most industrious, and by far

the most thickly peopled. Sweeping the entire breadth of the country from west to east, it constitutes a territory some 1500 miles in length, with a breadth varying from 300 to 400 miles. Its vast importance arises from its extreme fertility. Watered by the copious streams which have their birth in the Himalayas, and enriched by their deposits, it possesses a soil which, in its productiveness, is scarcely equalled by any other region of the known world.

The easternmost portion of this plain, which is occupied by the old province of Bengal, exhibits a tract of country whose monotonous level is scarcely interrupted by a single hillock. Connected with this portion of the plain are the celebrated Sunderbunds—an uncultivated belt of salt marsh lying between the outlets of the Ganges and Brahmapootra. Some excellent timber, however, is found in places; and the rhinoceros, the tiger, and other denizens of the forest find shelter in the woods, or lurk among the tall rank grass, which supplies the place of useful vegetation in this swampy tract. To the north of the Sunderbunds lies a district marvellously enriched by the periodical inundations to which it is subject; and here rice is produced in great abundance. This is especially the case with the trans-Gangetic region of Tirhoot. To the west lies a drier country, in which grain, cotton, and indigo are extensively cultivated.

Westward of Bengal, in the province of Bahar, the country is somewhat more diversified; but the same unbroken level presents itself in the adjoining province of Allahabad. The monotony of the plain throughout is, however, well relieved by the matchless mantle of vegetation wherewith it is clothed. To the north of the river lie the provinces of Oude and Rohilcund; and here the country slopes gently upwards towards the great mountain chain, the intense heat which characterises the low regions just described gradually relaxes to the temperature of an European spring, and the vegetation is consequently of a most varied character. Between the Ganges and Jumna lies the district known as the Doab, which possesses

a soil scarcely so fertile as the Bengal plain in general; though it is extremely well wooded, and of an agreeable temperature. Farther southward, the country is broken by offsets from the Vindhya range, which belongs, however, to another territorial division.

Quitting the valleys of the Ganges and Jumna, and advancing westward, we come upon the plain of the Indus. The northern part of this level is known as the Punjaub, or country of the five rivers. This extensive tract greatly resembles in productions and general aspect the plain of Bengal. The Punjaub is of the highest interest to us, as Englishmen of the nineteenth century, inasmuch as here, in its inhabitants, the Sikhs, our countrymen encountered the most determined foes with whom they ever crossed swords; and upon its soil, consequently, a series of the stoutest fights scarcely proclaimed the superiority of British arms over this warlike race.

This province, however, together with the contiguous provinces of Lahore and Moultan, now form part of British territory. To the south of Moultan, and between the basins of the Indus and Ganges, lies an extensive tract of sand, covered with saline incrustations and marine deposits, which form a wilderness equalling in its dreariness the most desert tracts of the African continent. This desert is more elevated than the plains on each side of it, and is bordered towards the south-east by the Aravelli chain, which forms the watershed between the Ganges and Indus. Farther on, and bordering upon the Sea of Arabia, is situated the province of Sinde, a thinly-peopled district, well watered by the inundations of the Indus, and in the highest degree productive.

As we advance southward, we approach the third territorial division, namely, the Highlands of Central India. The undulations of this part of the country are connected with the Vindhya range, and the principal feature of it is the table-land of Malwar. This table-land comprises an area of some 14,000 square miles, and attains a maximum elevation of 2000 feet. Its surface is exceedingly level, a few hills only occurring here and

there, and none of them with an elevation over 200 feet. The soil of this table-land is productive—tropical crops and the vegetation of the temperate zones being produced in abundance.

The next division in order is known as the Deccan. Properly speaking, the Deccan includes all the country to the south of the Vindhya Hills; in modern practice, however, the term is often limited to the country lying between that chain and the river Kistna. This region, which may be said to lie between the 21st and 12th parallels, is triangular in shape, with the Vindhya Hills and the East and West Ghauts as its three sides, its apex being rounded off by the bold sweep of the Neilgherry Hills. By far the greater part of this extensive tract is occupied by a table-land, whose boundaries to the east and west are flanked by low-lying plains that stretch to the ocean. Its most elevated portion is found in the south, where, under the name of the table-land of Mysore, it attains an elevation of 3000 feet. Further north the plain dips; and here is found the bed of its chief river—the Kistna. Rising again, farther northward, it attains to an elevation ranging from 1000 to 2500 feet. As a whole, the Deccan may be described as an extensive plateau, bordered by mountain chains. Its central portions are usually level, with low hills of conical shape scattered about its surface. Those parts, however, which lie in the vicinity of the border chains are well diversified by the spurs which they everywhere send forth. Such is the character of the Mahratta country in the south-west, whence a brave and hardy race once issued to harass their neighbours, to baffle English skill and valour, and to disconcert the plans of many an astute governor. Upon this table-land originate some of the mightiest rivers of the peninsula—as the Mahanuddy, Godavery, and Kistna.

The deep rich valley of the Nerbudda lying between the Vindhya range and the Satpoora Mountains is worthy of special notice. Its most imposing features, however, are the mountain ranges which support it. The Vindhya

Hills on the north begin about the 74th meridian; and, stretching eastward, run in a parallel line with the Nerbudda, in some places approaching its northern bank and skirting it as a monster wall. Upon the north side of the river the slope is everywhere rapid; and, as the range is intersected by numerous gorges, a series of natural bastions is thereby formed, of which, in times gone by, advantage has often been taken for purposes of defence. Towards the north the slope is exceedingly gentle; and upon this side—the range being widely extended and of moderate height—it presents rather the aspect of a rough, unbroken table-land than a mountain range. The Vindhya Hills, properly so called, terminate near Bhopal. Their undulations are, however, observed farther eastward, nearing the valley of the Ganges. This part of the range is called by the natives the Kimoor Mountains.

The Western Ghauts, which bound the Deccan to the west, begin in the neighbourhood of the Tapti, and, running southward, follow the line of the Indian Ocean some thirty miles from its shore; in places, however, approaching so close as to form a rock-bound coast. The range terminates about 11° north latitude. It is well wooded and fertile, the summit being crowned by the stately areca, sago, and other palms, and the valuable teak, sandal, and other woods. Except towards the south, the point at which the Neilgherries take their departure, they are only moderately elevated and of inconsiderable width. The slope on the ocean side is exceedingly rapid, a circumstance which interferes considerably with commercial enterprise in this quarter. The narrow district lying between the ridge and the ocean is usually known as Malabar, though the more northern stretch is often termed Concan and Canara.

The Eastern Ghauts, which interpose between the Deccan and the Bay of Bengal, occupy a larger area than the Western, though they are not so lofty, and are far less striking in their general aspect—having, in the place of stately forest trees, a dry, stony soil, monotonous in

the extreme. The only exceptions to this aridity are the valleys, or rather clefts, through which the great rivers, originating upon the table-land, find their way to the ocean. The nearest approach made by these Ghauts to the sea is towards the north in Orissa and the Circars. To the south of the Kistna, the plain enclosed by this ridge and the ocean is known as the Coromandel. It is much wider than that of Malabar.

The short chain of the Neilgherries completes the boundaries of this extensive plateau. This ridge issues from the Western Ghauts somewhere towards their southern extremity, and runs eastward for about sixty miles, forming the southern boundary of the province of Mysore. The aspect of these mountains is rather pleasing than romantic, as, throughout their extent, they present a surface of broad vales and gentle uplands, with considerable stretches of level ground intervening. The region is, however, considerably elevated, and one lofty ridge crosses it containing a peak that attains a height of nearly 9000 feet. The soil of the region is fertile, the surface being usually covered with rich verdure, and the climate extremely delightful. Advantage has been taken of this circumstance to establish upon its grounds sanitary stations, in which Europeans may re-establish their health when impaired by the enervating climate of the country.

The fifth and last territorial division comprises the extreme southern corner of the peninsula; and may consequently be denominated Southern India. It consists of a triangular piece of country having the Gap of Coimbatore—a deep valley uniting the lowlands of the eastern and western coasts, and flanked by the Neilgherries—and the southern sweep of the Eastern Ghauts as its base, with Cape Comorin as its apex. The coast of the Carnatic—which province forms by far the largest portion of this region—is low and sandy, especially between Capes Calimere and Comorin. Proceeding inland, salt swamps and lagoons, alternating with sand-dunes, make up an uninteresting region; but, farther on, the country gradually ascends to the mountains, which strike from the Western

Ghauts southward to Cape Comorin, and form the highest ground in the entire peninsula, unconnected with the Himalayas. The country to the west of this ridge, unlike the Carnatic region, is somewhat diversified.

To this southern region may perhaps be added Ceylon, an island about 25,000 miles in superficial extent, and separated from the mainland by the Gulf of Manaar and Palk's Strait. The channel between the island and the mainland is nearly filled up by a series of sandbanks, which, under the name of Adam's Bridge, extend from the island of Rameseram, off Cape Torritorio, to the island of Manaar, off the coast of Ceylon. The interior consists of highlands interspersed with numerous lakes. The nucleus of its highlands is formed towards the southern and broader part of the island, where the mountains rise—as in Adam's Peak, and in the still greater elevation of Pedrotallagalla—to upwards of seven and eight thousand feet respectively.

The principal range takes a latitudinal direction; but, from the nucleus whence the ridge issues, other offsets are detached towards the southern coast, which form numerous and well-watered valleys. The highlands stand a considerable distance from the coast, and a broad belt of low land of extreme fertility thus surrounds the island. The coast of Ceylon is therefore generally flat and abounds in salt lagoons. This is especially the case with its western and north-western sides, where the coast is often broken into majestic bays. The eastern side is in many parts bold and rocky. The soil of Ceylon varies. In the west it is sandy and unfruitful; in other parts it is highly fertile, producing rice and other crops in abundance. The cinnamon-laurel is indigenous to Ceylon, and the cocoa-nut is cultivated in great abundance. The climate, affected as it is by the monsoons, is not less varied than its soil. The gems of the island are very celebrated.

Ceylon is the Tuperbane and Salice of the Greeks and Romans. In the Cingalese annals it is called Sinha-su-Duipa (the island of lions); the Arabs named it Serendib; and the Portuguese, Selan.

CHAPTER II.

GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION.

Part II.—Political Features.

The Three Presidencies—The Sub-Presidencies—The Central Provinces—Island of Ceylon—Governments—Presidency of Bengal—of Bombay—of Madras—The North-West Provinces—Central Provinces—Punjaub—Oude—British Burmah—Ceylon—Native States and their Chief Towns—Foreign Possessions.

SUCH are the physical divisions of Hindostan. Politically, the country is divided (1) into three presidencies, namely, *Bengal*, *Bombay*, and *Madras*; (2) four sub-presidencies, or lieutenant-governorships, namely, *Agra* or the North-West Provinces, as it is sometimes called, the *Punjaub*, *Oude*, and *British Burmah*, or the Straits Settlements; (3) the *Central Provinces*, which are under the control of a chief commissioner; and (4) the *Island of Ceylon*, under a governor appointed by the British sovereign. In these divisions are included the British possessions, or the territories under the direct rule of the British government, and the native states which are either independent, or connected with us by treaty. These latter are either tributary, subsidiary, allied, or protected; and all of them more or less under British supervision or control.

These several divisions are under the superintendence of governors appointed by the ministry. The viceroy or governor-general supervises the concerns of the country as a whole. His authority extends specially over the north of India; the provinces there being periodically visited and inspected by him in person.

The presidency of Bengal includes the old province of Bengal, consisting of the divisions of Moorshedabad, Dacca, and Jessore; Bahar, comprised of Patna and Bhwagulpore; Assam, with the North-east Frontier; Chittagong, the Kuttack Mehals, and a collection of small states known as the South-west Frontier, altogether amounting to an area of 265,000 square miles.

This presidency comprises the lower basins of the Ganges and Mahanuddy. Its chief towns are *Calcutta*, on the Hooghly, an arm of the Ganges, the capital of India, its seat of government, and the residence of the governor-general; *Moorshedabad*, the ancient capital of the nabobs of Bengal; *Burdwan*, the capital of the fertile district of that name; *Cossimbazar*, *Dacca*, a manufacturing town of celebrity, and sometime a place of great splendour, and the capital of Bengal; *Jessore*, *Dinagapore*, *Patna*, in the centre of a rice-growing district, and the modern capital of Bahar; *Monghier*, noted for its iron manufactures; *Gaya*, with a celebrated temple to Vishnu; *Serampore*, once in possession of the Danes; and the French settlement of *Chandernagore*.

The presidency of Bombay consists of the once famous and extensive Mahratta dominions, together with the province of Sinde, and embraces the territory bounded westward by the Nizam's dominions, and northward by the Tungabudra river. Among its divisions occur the familiar names of Surat, North and South Concan, North Canara, Kandeish, Ahmednuggur, Poonah, Satara, Darwar, and the Deccan.

This presidency is watered by the lower course of the Indus, the Loonee, the Chumbul, a tributary of the Ganges, the Nerbudda, the Tapti, and the lower course of the Kistna.

Among its principal towns are *Bombay*, the capital of the presidency, and residence of the governor; *Surat*, a considerable seaport, trading largely in cotton, and the earliest English settlement upon the Indian coast; *Ahmedabad*, in Guzerat, a city of great antiquity; *Bejapore*, a strong fortress not far from the left bank of

the Kistna, and formerly a city of great magnificence; *Satara*, the ancient capital of the Mahratta rajahs; *Poonah*, in the Deccan, the former seat of the Peshwa's government; *Ahmednuggur*; *Hyderabad* in Sinde, on the Indus, and *Kurrachee*, a seaport in the same district.

The presidency of Madras embraces nearly the whole of the peninsula south of the Kistna, together with a strip of country lying along the coast of the Bay of Bengal, and known as the Circars. It embraces a portion of the district of the Circars, already mentioned, the Carnatic, the ceded districts of Mysore, or the Bala Ghauts, Nangore, Coimbatore, Coorg, Canara, and Malabar, Travancore, and Cochin. Madras is watered by the Godavery and the feeders upon its right bank, the Kistna, and its tributary the Toongabudra, the Pennair, Cauvery, and several other streams of lesser volume and importance.

Its principal towns are *Madras*, the capital of the presidency; *Tanjore*, on the Cauvery, the capital city of the rajah of the province; *Trichinopoly*, on the same river, and not far from Tanjore, a fortress, and a place of some trade; *Masulipatam*, one of the earliest of the British settlements in India; *Nellore*, a populous commercial town; *Conjeveram*, a Brahminical city containing celebrated pagodas to Siva and Vishnu; *Vellore*, a fortress and military station; *Mangalore*, *Calicut*, and *Cochin*, seaports on the Malabar coast; *Madura*; *Seringapatam*, the capital of the province of Mysore; and *Bellary* and *Gooty-droog*, fortresses in the ceded districts.

The territory known as the North-west Provinces includes the district lying around Oude, and stretching along the Ganges, from the confluence of the Gogra with that river to the upper course of the Jumna. Among its divisions are Benares, Agra, Meerut, Rohilcund, Jansi, Ajmeer, and Kumaon. This district, which has an area of 85,000 square miles, is well watered by the main stream of the Ganges, and the Jumna, Goomtee, Gogra, and other feeders of that river. Its chief towns are *Allahabad*, at

the junction of the Ganges and Jumna, the capital, an important fortress, and a holy city and place of pilgrimage; *Cawnpore*, an important military station, and celebrated historically as the scene of an atrocious massacre of our countrymen during the Sepoy rebellion of 1857; *Benares*, an ancient Brahminical city on the Ganges, and the resort of Hindu pilgrims from all parts; *Mirzapore*; *Gorackpore*; *Agra*, the capital of the province of that name, an ancient city containing the magnificent Taze Mahal, wherein is the tomb of the Emperor Shah Jehangire. *Agra* is venerated by Hindus as the place of the incarnation of Vishnu; *Furruckabad*, a place of some trade; *Muttra*, a large town, and a sacred city; *Meerut*, the chief city of the division of Meerut; *Alleyghur*; *Bareilly*, in Rohilcund, a place of great trade; and *Rampoor*.

The division known as the Central Provinces comprises the northern portion of the Deccan, being situated to the north of the Godavery, and to the west of Orissa. This district, which is under the jurisdiction of a chief commissioner, has an area of 120,000 square miles. It consists mainly of the province of Nagpore, and certain districts to the north-west of it, known as the Nerbudda and Sangor territory. The country here is watered by the Godavery, and the upper courses of the Nerbudda and Tapti. It contains but one town of importance, namely, *Nagpore*, near the capital of the dominions of the rajah of Berar, and the present capital of the district of Gundwayna.

The Punjaub, or country of the Five Rivers, includes, besides the old province known by that name, and watered by the affluents of the Indus, the British territory lying to the east of it, and forming the upper basin of the Sutlej and Jumna. Its divisions are Moulton, Lahore, Umritsir, Jhelum, Jullundah, Leiro, and Peshawar, to the west of the Sutlej; and Delhi, Hissar, and the cis-Sutlej States to the east of that river.

The chief towns in the vice-presidency are: *Lahore*, on the Ravee, the seat of Government; *Moulton*, near the

left bank of the Chenab, a large and populous town; *Umritsir*; *Delhi*, the former capital of the Moguls, and one of the most ancient and splendid cities of India; *Ferozepore*, on the Sutlej, a considerable military station; and Peshawar, near the right bank of the Cabool river, and upon the frontier of Afghanistan; *Paniput*, *Loodiana*, *Sobraon*, *Aliwal*, *Goojerat*, *Ferozeshah*, and *Moodkee*—all within the Punjaub territory—are historically celebrated as great battle-fields.

The lieutenant-governorship of Oude comprises the newly-annexed state of that name; and is bounded upon the north by Nepaul, upon the south by the Ganges, and upon the east and west by the territory of the North-west Provinces. The country, which is well watered by the Goomtee, and other tributaries of the Ganges, has an area of 28,000 square miles.

The chief towns within the province are *Lucknow*, the capital, a populous place, and memorable from its association with the chief events of the Indian Mutiny; *Orude*, and *Fyzabad*. The affairs of the dominion are administered by a lieutenant-governor.

British Burmah comprises all the Indian territory belonging to Britain situated without the bounds of the peninsula. It consists of the provinces of Arracan, Pegu, Martaban, the Tenasserim Provinces, and the Straits Settlements. These provinces stretch along the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal for 700 miles, and are valuable chiefly as rice-growing districts—abundant crops of which cereal are produced upon the rich alluvial soil of the country—and for the timber-trees which clothe the hills upon its eastern boundary. The Tenasserim Provinces are four in number, namely, Amherst, Yeh, Tavoy, and Mergui. The Straits Settlements lie beyond the bounds of Tenasserim, the most southern of the provinces, and consist of the islands of Penang and Singapore, the town of Singapore, Wellesley Province, and the town of Malacca.

The chief towns of British Burmah are *Bassein*, *Rangoon*, and *Prome*, in Pegu; *Moulmein* in the Tenas-

serim Provinces; and *Singapore*, upon the island of that name.

Ceylon consists mainly of the island of that name. Its affairs are administered by a governor appointed by the crown; and it is therefore a separate presidency. Its chief towns are: *Colombo*, the capital, and the seat of the government, situated upon the western coast of the island. It is a place of great trade, and is strongly fortified. Besides trading largely in spices and other Indian produce, cocoa-nut oil is largely supplied by its numerous crushing-mills; *Point de Galle*, upon the south-west coast, the chief seaport of the island; *Kandy*, in the centre of the island, the old capital of the dominions of the King of Kandy; *Trincomalee*, upon the neck of a peninsula on the north-west coast, possesses the finest harbour in the island, and is a place of great trade; *Newera Ellia*, situated in a healthy and picturesque neighbourhood, the principal government sanitarium of the island.

Ceylon, which has an area of 25,000 square miles, has long been wholly or partially connected with Britain.

In addition to the British possessions there are the Native and Foreign States. The former are more or less connected with the governments of the presidencies—the native rulers being retained, some as subsidiary, some tributary, some protected, and others only nominally independent, but all of them under British supervision and control. The names of some of these, it will be seen, occur in connection with the presidencies with which they are physically associated. This repetition arises from the fact that the provinces bearing their several names have been broken up and divided amongst the British and native princes.

Among the states of the first denomination may be mentioned Guzerat, or the Guicowar's dominions, Cambay, Cutch, Kolapore, Satara, connected with Bombay; Cochin, Mysore, Travancore, and Jeypore, connected with Madras; and Hyderabad or the Nizam's dominions, Nagpore or Berar, Bhopal, Gwalior, Indore, Bundelcund, Rajpootana,

or the Rajpoot States, Rohilcund, Bhwalpore, the Sikh States, Cashmere, Nepaul, Sikkim, Kuttack, Tipperah, etc., connected with the northern presidencies and governments.

Guzerat, or the Guicowar's dominions, embraces an extensive territory lying to the south of Rajpootana, and to the west of Malwah. A large portion of it is a peninsula lying between the Gulfs of Cutch and Cambay. The Guicowar is the representative of a line of Mahratta chieftains, whose patronymic—like that of our Scottish and Irish chiefs—have come to be employed as a title. The dominion is divided among a number of petty sovereigns who are subject either to the Guicowar or to the British. The Guicowar himself is in subsidiary alliance with the British. The capital is *Baroda*, one of the wealthiest cities in India.

Cutch is a territory lying between Guzerat and Sind, from which latter it is separated by an extensive salt-marsh called the Runn. It is governed by a prince named the Ras, who is under British protection. *Bhooj* is the modern capital of the principality, and *Mandavee* its chief port.

Cambay, an insignificant district situated at the head of the gulf of that name, governed by a nabob who is tributary to the British.

Kolapore, a small Mahratta state in the Western Ghauts, and within the province of Bejapore, is under a rajah. The affairs of the state, however, are administered by a deputy appointed by the British government. The capital bears the name of the state.

Sattara, a district occupying a portion of the Western Ghauts, and of the table-land of the Deccan, is under British management. Among its towns are *Sattara*, the ancient Mahratta capital, and *Bejapore*.

Cochin, to the north of Travancore, is now included in the district of Malabar. Its capital is *Trichoor*.

Mysore, the ancient dominion of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sahib, is governed by a Hindu rajah. The capital is *Mysore*, which contains the rajah's palace. *Seringapatam*,

the former capital, stands on an islet in the Cauvery, and is well fortified. *Bednore* and *Bangalore* are among the commercial towns of the province.

Travancore lies along the Malabar coast at the southern extremity of the peninsula. Its capital is *Trivandrum*, a large and populous place not far from the coast.

Jeypore, a considerable principality lying between the Circars and Nagpore upon the northern side of the Godavery. Its chief town is *Jeypore*, on a tributary of the Godavery, which river forms the southern boundary of the province.

Hyderabad, or the Nizam's dominions, comprises an extensive territory, and is the largest of all the protected states. It occupies the centre of the northern portion of the Deccan, being surrounded by the dominion of Mysore. Jeypore, the central provinces, Berar, and the Ceded Districts. The capital is *Hyderabad*, a populous town largely engaged in diamond cutting, and situated on a small tributary of the Kistna. Near it is *Golconda*, a fortified place, and of world-wide celebrity from its supply of diamonds. Other towns are *Berar*, *Dowlatabad*, *Aurangabad*, and *Elora*.

Berar, or as it is sometimes termed, Nagpore, is attached to the Central Provinces; and is, in effect, under the entire control of the British. The rajah is a merely nominal sovereign, as the management of the province is in the hands of a political agent of the British government, who resides at Nagpore. The boundaries of the province, owing to its divided condition, are not easily definable. *Nagpore*, in the province of Gundwayna, is the capital.

Bhopal, a small principality of some 6000 or 7000 miles in area, situated between the Mahratta states and the ceded districts of the Nerbudda. It is under British protection. Its capital is a town of the same name, standing near the river Bere, at the foot of the Vindhya Hills.

Gwalior, or Scindia's territory, is made up of several detached districts between the Vindhya Hills and the Chumbul river. Its capital is *Gwalior*, a town not far from the Chumbul.

Indore, or Holkar's territory, is situated in the Vindhya country. It consists of several detached districts of Malwah, its principal portions being watered by the Nerbudda. The capital is *Indore*, the residence of Holkar. Other towns are *Oujein*, once the residence of Scindia, *Perlubghur*, and *Bhampoor*.

Bundelcund or Bundela lies to the south of the Jumna, between the provinces of Rewah, Malwah, and Gwalior. Bundelcund consists of a number of states, a few of which are protected and tributary. British connection with the Bundelcund States dates from the beginning of the present century. The representative of the ancient rulers is a pensioner of the British government. The chief towns are *Bunda*, the capital, and the seat of government of the old nabobs of Bunda; *Jeitpore*, *Jhansi*, *Chittapore*, etc.

The Rajpoot States embrace an extensive territory on the western side of the Chumbul. The Aravelli Mountains run through them from south-west to north-east, to the west of which range the country is extremely desert. Ajmeer, and the district around it, situated in the centre of the states, is British territory. The remainder of them are under Rajpoot princes. Among the states are Ajmeer, already mentioned, Jeypore, with a capital bearing the same name; Marwar, capital *Jhodpore*; Mewar, capital *Oodipore*, and *Chitore*, an ancient and flourishing town.

Rohilcund lies to the north-west of the province of Oude, and occupies the upper basin of the Ganges and Jumna. Its capital is *Bareilly*, situated within the district of Bareilly, one of the British possessions in this quarter.

The Khannate of Bhawulpore lies to the north of the desert of Scinde, upon the left side of the Jumna.

The Sikh States, which are under British protection, lie between the Punjaub and the states of the north-west provinces. This territory is virtually British.

Cashmere, or Gholab Singh's territory, is in the Himalayan district to the north-east of the Punjaub. This district, which was once British territory, passed by payment

to Gholab Singh upon the conclusion of the first Sikh war. Its capital is *Sirinagur* on the Jhelum; and among its other towns are *Islamabad* and *Sampre*.

Nepaul, an extensive principality, also in the Himalayan region, is bounded northward by Thibet, and towards the south by Oude and other provinces of the Gangetic plain; on the east it has Sikkim, and on the west Kumaon. The capital is *Katmandoo*, situated in a plain country surrounded by mountains, upon the line of communication between Hindustan and Thibet. Among its other towns are *Lalita*, *Patan*, and *Neacote*. It is under a rajah, between whom and the British there exists a treaty of government.

Sikkim is likewise in the Himalayas, and lies between Nepaul and Bhotan. The rajah of Sikkim, an ally of the English, is tributary and protected.

The territory known as the Kuttack Mehals is situated in the province of Orissa.

Tipperah is a trans-Gangetic district, situated among the mountains of that name. The province is entirely independent.

The French and Portuguese Possessions, which, territorially considered, are exceedingly unimportant, complete the area of the Indian peninsula. To the French belong *Pondicherry*, a considerable town on the Carnatic coast, and the chief seat of French authority; *Chandanagore*, on the Hooghley, about 16 miles from Calcutta; *Carical*, on the Carnatic coast, towards the south; *Mahê*, upon the coast of Malabar; and *Yanaon*, on a branch of the Godavery. These possessions—and especially the two former—have many times changed hands. They were finally restored to French ownership at the peace of 1816.

To the Portuguese belong the district of *Goa*, on the western coast of Canara; *Daman*, a fortress near Surat; and *Diu*, another fortress upon the south coast of the peninsula of Kattywar (Guzerat).

Tranquebar, to the north of Carical, formerly belonged to the Danes, of whom it was purchased in 1846 by the British government.

CHAPTER III.

THE INHABITANTS OF INDIA.

The Aryan Race—Their Appearance in Hindustan—Contrast between them and the Aborigines—Early Peopling of India—The Aborigines—Early Condition of India—The Kings—The Government—Religion of Hindus—Sacred Writings—Brahm, the First Cause—The Hindu Trinity—Devotion among Hindus—Sects in India—Superstitious Practices—Caste—Its Reputed Origin—Strict Observance of its Duties—Buddhism—The Mohammedans—Religion of the ruder Tribes—The Sikhs—Parsees—Christianity in India.

By far the greater portion of the inhabitants of India belong to that race whose many branches, bearing the generic name of Aryan, Caucasian, and Indo-European, have filled Europe, peopled a considerable portion of the areas of the continents of Asia, Africa, and America, and are fast superseding the aboriginal inhabitants of the Australian continent and the islands thereabouts.

There are many reasons for supposing that the particular branch of this mighty stock, whose teeming millions, under the name of Hindus or Hindoos, have peopled this Asiatic peninsula, were not the earliest occupants of its soil; but that, at some very remote period, they descended at successive intervals from the highlands of Central Asia, bringing with them civilization and the sword, displacing the aboriginal dwellers, and furnishing the land with a new race and all its concomitants—a new language, a new religion, new manners and customs, and a new complexion of things in general.

Their arrival; consequently, wrought a mighty change in the Indian peninsula—a change which, in its way, proved as advantageous to the land as the displacement of the

Red men of the Columbian Continent by the more civilised and enterprising types of the Old World. The physical qualities of the new comers were as far superior to the race they superseded as were those of the Hellenes to the "Children of the Black Earth." The exquisite beauty of their Sanskrit muse as greatly transcended that of the aborigines as do the rich and melodious Greek-Latin tongues the copious, but withal unharmonious, Teutonic. Their religion was, in its poetic fancies, as far exalted above their crude systems of worship as the sublime teachings of Christianity soar above the doctrines of the code of Menu; and the condition of their society was as much superior as was that of the Sabines and Etruscans to the rude followers of Romulus.

To suppose, however, that the Aryans were the only invaders of Indian soil were to accredit the race with a monopoly of migratory and predatory habits. The acceptance of such a theory is forbidden by the existence of Cushite and Turanian or Scythian remains, which are found more especially in the southern half of the peninsula, where monuments that bear a close resemblance to the Druidical structures of Western Europe abound; while warlike implements and domestic utensils, corresponding with the antique remains of our own country, point to an unmistakable brotherhood. These various immigrations, however, occurred at a period anterior to the dawn of historic record; and to trace their progress is therefore impossible. In treating of the early population of Greece the great historian of that country bids us forego speculation, and contentedly accept the Hellenic aggregate as a primary fact from which to start; and in this spirit it is that we must, perforce, contemplate the primitive population of India.

In looking back, therefore, to primitive times we behold, as would be supposed, the land occupied by a scattered population of extremely rude habits, but withal one of the most ancient peoples of the earth. The tide of emigration progressing westward has already overwhelmed Greece and Italy; and now, bearing southward,

its irresistible tide passes the Indian Alps, breaks upon the Punjaub, and spreads itself over the plains of Hindustan proper. The advance of successive waves force the earlier comers southwards, who, swarming over the Vindhya chain, cover in time the Deccan, the more southern table-lands, and Ceylon. The ancient races, meanwhile, retreat before it to the more inaccessible regions of its hills and forests, much after the manner in which so many of the Celtic inhabitants of this island withdrew, before the onward pressure of the Saxon invaders, to the mountain fastnesses of the western part of our island.

The process, we repeat, is shrouded in impenetrable darkness; and the veil will probably never be uplifted therefrom. Nevertheless, its operations are confirmed not less by analogy than by the present composition of the Indian people; for, while the blood of the Aryan stock remains in the great bulk of the inhabitants, the primitive, indigenous races are represented by certain alien tribes, whose condition is one of pristine rudeness. They are diminutive in stature, extremely dark, and have the high cheek-bones, small eyes, and flat noses characteristic of the Mongols; and thus they differ from the Hindus, who are tall and lithe, with handsome oval features, large eyes and eyebrows, and have a skin which, in the cooler regions, is not darker than that of the inhabitants of southern Europe. In all instances they preserve the practices of their ancestors, and cling with the most remarkable tenacity to their superstitions. They are found at the foot of the Himalayas, amid the unhealthy forests of the Terai; in the wooded country of the Ganges valley; further south in the region of Kuttack; in Central India; amid the Vindhya, Aravelli, and Satpura Mountains; further west in Guzerat; and in the table-lands of the Deccan and Mysore, and among the Neilgherries. Their various tribes, though differing in many respects, nevertheless preserve the general characteristics of kindred race, language, and habits.

Among these aboriginal tribes may be mentioned the Garcons, Lepchas, and Loshais, who dwell beneath the

shadow of the Himalayas; the Korewahs and Koles—the latter a comparatively docile race, who are found in Kutta and Western Bengal; the Santals who, in 1855, rose in rebellion against the British government; the Khonds, inhabiting the hill-country to the west of Orissa, whose name is associated with the barbarous practice of kidnapping; the Bheels and Kholus, found in the hill-districts of the old Mahratta country; the robber-bands known as Wagherns, living to the west of them; and many others.

The condition of early Hindu society was that of an advanced civilization. Its government took the form of an absolute monarchy. The executive powers were in the hands of a being who was supposed to be endued with divine attributes, and exercised an authority against which there was no earthly appeal. His actions, however, were limited in some degree by the influence of the Brahmins, the laws which bore the seal of divinity, and the usual dread of revolt. The Hindu sovereign appears, like all monarchs of primitive times, to have been commander-in-chief, diplomatist, chief magistrate, and manager of the national finances. These duties he was at liberty to perform by deputy; and such deputy could further delegate his powers to a third. This method was frequently adopted.

Further, he was supposed to be an example of industry, self-denial, self-restraint, and every other virtue under the sun. The succession was generally hereditary; but the sovereign appears to have had the privilege of choosing his successor. Kingship was, however, more often than otherwise confined to the family, and the worthiest member of it was usually chosen.

His revenue was derived chiefly from the produce of the earth, of the mines, from certain imposts upon merchandise, and from other sources. The tax upon grain varied according to the character of the soil, and the amount of labour required for its cultivation.

The internal administration of the country was in the hands of civil officers appointed by the king, who were

immediately responsible to a superintendent—a man of high rank and authority—one of whom resided in every large town or city. The land was, for convenience, divided into military districts, each under a duly appointed resident officer of tried qualifications. The rules of warfare, as drawn up by the Brahmins, were exceedingly crude and impracticable, and quite unworthy of the high degree of civilization and general intelligence to which this people had attained. This much may, however, be said of them, that they enjoined a regard for humanity which would put to the blush the boasted-civilization and progress of the nineteenth century. Every means were adopted to mitigate the horrors of the battle-field, and to relieve a conquered people from the usual consequences of defeat.

The vast majority of the Hindu people belong to the religion known as Brahminism or Hinduism—its votaries numbering some 150 millions of souls. The doctrines of this ancient system of worship are set forth in the Vedas, the Shastras, Puranas, and other sacred books, whose possession and right of research belong exclusively to the Brahminical order. The Vedas—the Bible of the Hindus—are written in the Sanskrit, a language held by the Hindus to belong exclusively to the gods. They are four in number, namely—the “Rig-Veda,” the “Yugur-Veda,” the “Sama-Veda,” and the “Atharva-Veda,” of which the “Rig-Veda” is the most ancient. They comprise a collection of sacred poems and prayers, with which legends, religious rites, philosophical reasoning, and moral teaching, are largely mingled. The sacred books, which are supposed to have been compiled so early as the fourteenth century before Christ, contain the earliest authentic record of the people who profess the creed it teaches. Its doctrines were considerably modified and improved six centuries later by the code of Menu, which affords the earliest complete picture of the state of Hindu society.

It is a remarkable, yet well-authenticated truth, that nowhere in the universe is the phenomenon presented of

a nation of Atheists. The same thirst after divine knowledge which led the Athenians of old to erect in their city an altar to the Unknown God has ever led the contemplative mind of man from nature up to nature's God; and hence it is that mankind in all ages, whether elevated by the influences of civilization or sunk in the depths of barbarism, will acknowledge the existence of a first and all-pervading cause. The South-Sea Islander beholds it in his deified ancestors, and the Red Indian in the Great Spirit. The ancient Greek adored it in the Hellenic Zeus, and pagan Rome in Jove his counterpart. The Hindu, possessing a theocracy of older date, speaks of an equally imaginative being; and, under the name of Brahm, its votaries adore him as the uncreated author of all things.

Ere the era of creation had begun, this moving principle is represented as having been wholly quiescent, existing in a condition of unbroken sleep. After a numberless succession of ages this slumber is disturbed; and Brahm, heretofore a mere abstraction, begins to exhibit active qualities, and calls the universe into existence. The human mind, however, unequal to the grasp of the infinite, must needs endow its ideal author with a tangible, comprehensive form, without which the energy necessary to the process of creation must be wanting. Accordingly, from the bosom of Brahm comes forth the Trimurti or Hindu Triad, consisting of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. The first person of this trinity is regarded as the creator—not of the universe alone, but even of the two other persons of the trinity, who are supposed to have sprung from his essence. To this offspring is entrusted the arrangement and government of the universe; while Brahm himself relapses into his former condition of profound slumber and unconsciousness.

The various attempts of finite man to unravel the secrets of the Eternal have at all times been fruitful of confusion; and various interpretations exist among the Hindus of the process of creation. The most widely-adopted theory is that of the Mundane Egg, occurring in

the Hindu Shastras. This egg, from whence the universe is alleged to have sprung, was created by Brahm, who, for its production, assumed the twofold form of a male and female. In this egg lay the germ of future worlds, together with the embryo of Brahm himself. After the lapse of countless ages, during which the wondrous first cause lay floating upon the dark waters of chaos, the supreme being therein inclosed burst the stupendous shell, and issued forth in the form of a monster with myriad heads and horns, ready to commence the mighty work of educating order from chaos.

Such was Brahma, the first person of the Hindu trinity, the creator of the universe. The second person, Vishnu, is a personification of the process of preservation. He was long regarded as holding an inferior position to that of Brahma; but by-and-bye he attained a more exalted place; and the worshippers of this deity under the form of Krishna, his incarnation, now far outnumber the votaries of Brahma. Shiva, the third person of the Hindu Triad, is the tutelary god of the Brahmins. The worship of this deity is comparatively recent, not earlier than three centuries before the Christian era. In consequence of the counter influence of the Brahmins, it was long confined to the hill tribes; but the Brahmins in time having relaxed their opposition, Shiva-worship quickly spread through the plains; and that deity now shares with Vishnu the adoration of the greater portion of the Hindu people.

The Hindus believe in the transmigration of souls; which process they regard as progressive to the end of time. The rewards and punishments of the next world are of three kinds, the highest of which is that of absorption into the essence of Brahm.

It is the desire of every devout Hindu to attain to a higher rank in the new existence. Hence the amazing display of devotion, and the minute pharisaical, and even ludicrous attention paid to form and ceremony so observable among this people. "There is not a Hindu farmer, artizan, or even common labourer," says Colonel Meadows

Taylor, "who does not possess household gods, who does not worship them in his house, and thus purify himself before he or his family can eat, or he goes to his daily labour, whatever it may be. During the day a devout Hindu will repeat the name of his tutelary divinity upon his rosary; no one gets up, sits down, enters, or leaves a room, yawns, sneezes, or coughs, without invoking his protection. No Brahmin opens his book for study, no merchant or trader his day-book or ledger, no blacksmith, carpenter, weaver, or other artizan or labourer, uses his tools without the same form. . . . Betrothals, marriages, birth of children, purification after child-birth, birthdays, performance of vows made on any special occasion, sacrifices, oblations, penances, pilgrimages, cremations, or burials, and rites for the repose of the souls of relations—all, and many more events of life which it is needless to detail, involve the performance of religious ceremonies."

The Hindu Pantheon presents a numberless array; and the variety of sects in India are necessarily numerous. At the head of these deities stand the members of the Hindu Trimurti already mentioned, whose worshippers consequently far outnumber the votaries of the rest. Of these Brahma receives but little adoration, except from the Brahmins themselves, who at sunrise every morning repeat an incantation containing a description of the deity, and present him with a flower. Vishnu and Shiva, on the other hand, under the names of Krishna and Rama, have ever attracted, and continue to attract, the greatest amount of homage.

Gross superstition follows upon the skirts of Hinduism. Evil spirits, demons, and monsters of all kinds, whose avocation it is to afflict the world with every species of evil, are believed to be everywhere present, and are propitiated by sacrifice. The service rendered to these, however, forms no part of the professed religion, and are supposed to be a remnant of the aboriginal worship. The existence of these superstitious practices is exhibited by the prevalence of horrid rites: some of which, as the pro-

cession of the car of Juggernaut, the practice of the suttee, infanticide, etc., have been recently abolished by the firm hand of the British government.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of Brahminism is an institution well-nigh peculiar to Hindustan, and known as *caste*. By this institution, which has the authority of the code of Menu, the Hindus were originally divided into four distinct and separate orders. Foremost among them were the priesthood, whose highest class are termed Brahmins. The next in order is that of the Kshattriyas or military. Lower down in the social scale were the Vaishyas, who embraced the professions, as physicians, bankers, lawyers, merchants, and the higher degrees of those not engaged in handiwork of any kind; and lowest of all were the Soudras, including the lowest class of traders, husbandmen, artizans, and labourers.

The obligations of caste are set forth, and its rules enforced by duly recognised potentates and their agents. Its leading principle is that of thorough exclusiveness. Intermarriages are strictly forbidden—a breach of the rule being visited by the highest earthly punishment in the eyes of a Hindu—namely, degradation, or loss of caste. Such *mesalliances* have frequently taken place; and their occurrence has originated the multitudinous classes to be found in Hindu society. Nevertheless, the strict Hindu will regard the obligations of caste with much greater care and exactitude than the services of his religion even. Perhaps this may be accounted for by the summary visitation attending a breach of its rules. Be that as it may, the overseers of the concerns of caste are far more efficacious in upholding morality among the population than even the Brahminical teachers.

Some centuries previous to the Christian era, another and a purer religion was introduced into India by Gotama Buddha, who, rejecting the teachings of the Vedas and kindred writings, taught the almost Christian truth of the equality of mankind in the sight of a Supreme Being. His teachings took deep root, and the creed flourished in India, till the jealousy of the Brahmins was aroused,

who, having gained the aid of the temporal powers, commenced a persecution of its votaries. The struggle between the old and new faiths was long and severe; and, as in the days of imperial Rome, Christianity was by turns encouraged and discountenanced by the successors of Cæsar, so Buddhism was, for seven or eight centuries after the Christian era patronised, neglected, and forbidden by the kings of India. The enemies of the new faith ultimately triumphed, and it was in consequence suppressed.

The Mohammedans form likewise a respectable portion of the Indian community, numbering some 15 millions. The establishment of this religion was the result of a succession of conquests which, beginning with the invasion of the renowned Mahmoud "was never turned back towards the setting sun till that memorable campaign in which the cross of St. George was planted on the walls of Ghuznee." The professors of the Mohammedan creed are the descendants of those Afghan, Persian, and Arab invaders whose warrior kings once lorded it over the greater portion of the peninsula. Proselytism was not, however, the practice of these Mussulman invaders; and the number of Hindu converts to their faith has thus been comparatively small. The Mohammedans are most numerous in Oude and the Deccan. There is but little sympathy between them and their Hindu fellow-countrymen.

The supposed aboriginal tribes profess neither Brahminism, Buddhism, nor Mohammedanism. Thus, the Khonds, who are found in Orissa, worship an earth-god, whom they call Bura-Penu, and to him they offer sacrifices for the purpose of securing his blessing upon their agricultural operations. The rude tribes south of the Deccan exercise a system of demonolatry, into the practice of which the most revolting and degrading rites are introduced. In addition to these are the Jains, a Hindu sect found scattered throughout the peninsula, and more especially in South Canara. They are supposed to be the successors of the Buddhists, whom in many points they greatly resemble.

The Sikhs, who inhabit the Punjaub and the territory lying to the east of the Sutlej, practise the religion of the reformer Narrak, who flourished in the fifteenth century. The doctrines of the Brahminical books and of the Koran were alike abrogated by the creed which he taught. Caste was abjured, Hinduism, and every semblance of superstition abandoned, the Brahmins ignored, and faith in the Supreme Being regarded as sufficient in itself to secure eternal bliss.

The Parsees, found chiefly in Bombay, are the remnant of the ancient Persians who, in the middle of the seventh century, fled from the persecutions of the Mohammedans under Kaliph Omar, and found an asylum, first amid the fastnesses of Khorassin, and eventually in Hindustan. They profess the faith of Zoroaster or fire-worship, which is the ancient religion of Persia; and are the representatives of those who, when the wave of Islamism swept over the plains of Shiraz, chose rather to endure persecution and exile than abandon the religion of their fathers. The Parsees are generally engaged in mercantile pursuits, and their industry and enterprise have given them an importance which, numerically speaking, they do not possess.

Christianity has been introduced of late years into the peninsula, and, through the exertions of the missionary societies, has made great progress. The country is divided into three dioceses, corresponding with the three great presidencies. The island of Ceylon forms a separate see, known as the diocese of Colombo. The number of the Christians in India is reckoned at something less than a quarter of a million.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY HISTORY.

Characteristics of Early History—Of the Brahminical Stories—Comparison of the Theocracy of India with those of Greece and Scandinavia—Uses of Early Legend—Dawn of Commercial Intercourse—Invasion of India by Sesostris—By Semiramis—Her Defeat by Strabobates—Conquest by Darius Hystaspes—by Alexander—Expedition of Nearchus—India after the Death of Alexander.

THE early history of India is involved in the obscurity surrounding the annals of every nation whose existence is traceable to that far-off era denominated pre-historic; when letters were as yet unknown; when tradition was of necessity the only channel whereby the transactions of one generation were transmitted to the people of another; and when an absurd and pompous mythology, added to extravagant legend, was made to supply the place of simple, historic narrative.

It is with such-like materials that the chronicles of all ancient communities begin; and, could we place dependence upon such records, the early history of the Hindus would yield to none in copiousness of incident and fulness of detail. Unfortunately, however, for the cause of historic truth the Brahminical poems which affect to relate the transactions of early times teem with extravagant and unnatural occurrences. No attempt is ever made to establish a chronological sequence; and when chronology is at all employed, it is to impart to the lives of men a more than antediluvian longevity, and to transient events the duration of a cycle.

Moreover, the actions of men and of the deities are absurdly mingled in the production of legends so irrational, and so utterly antagonistic to the human reason as to tax the patience and disgust the understanding. It

may be true that the myths of Greece and Scandinavia are not more trustworthy than the stories of the Hindu mythology. They possess, nevertheless, the advantage of being more in conformity with what is reasonable and natural, and far more delightful in the general purity of their conceptions; and as a consequence, they are more grateful to the tastes of the cultivated student. In short, one cannot contemplate their charming stories without coming to the conclusion that, however little dependence we may place upon them as exponents of historic fact, they are certainly no artfully woven fictions created for the purpose of imposing upon the credulity of mankind, but objects of genuine belief with those who published them; while their Hindu counterparts, on the other hand, in their absurd extravagance, bear the unmistakable stamp of falsehood, such as has gained for their authors, from a great authority upon Indian matters, the epithet of the most deliberate fabricators with whom the annals of fable have yet made us acquainted.

This, then, being the character of these early Hindu chronicles, it would scarcely be prudent, considering the circumscribed space at our command, to give them the same prominence as historic fact. We cannot, however, pass them over without remarking, that these semi-sacred poems which passed for history, though extravagant in their scope, and utterly untrustworthy as records of actual transactions, are nevertheless of priceless value; because they help to cast a light upon the condition of Hindu society in pre-historic times, such as we should never have obtained had their authors remained silent. "We cannot," says Mill, "describe the lives of their kings, or the circumstances and results of a train of battles. But we can show how they lived together as members of the community and of families; how they were arrayed in society; what arts they practised; what tenets they believed; what manners they displayed; under what species of government they existed; and what character as human beings they possessed. This is by far the most useful and important part of history."

Although it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that no date of a public event can be traced further back than the invasion of Alexander; and no consecutive chronicle of the national transactions till the Mohammedan conquest of the country, it is difficult to believe that a nation claiming a civilization older than that of Greece or Egypt, should remain so long unknown to the inhabitants of the outer world. We may have nothing to substantiate it, but we may well suppose that the extensive and valuable productions of India were not hidden from the knowledge of contemporary nations. Providence in its wisdom has ordained that the treasures of His universe shall not remain for ever the monopoly of those whose privilege it is to be placed directly in their midst. There would indeed appear to be some undefinable principle which ever operates in spreading a knowledge of their existence to mankind, and no surer do the sweets of nature attract the winged plunderer, than do the riches of the earth invite the cupidity of the merchant, or excite the ambition of the conqueror.

There appears to be but little doubt that those early pioneers of commercial enterprise, the Phœnicians, carried on a lucrative trade with India by way of the Euphrates and Arabia Petræa; and, if this be so, although no direct allusion is made to this country in the pages of Holy Writ, the Jews must have profited from Indian industry and ingenuity. The luxuries of Solomon's household were probably derived from this favoured region of the earth.

The earliest recorded invasion of India is that of Sesos-
tris the great Egyptian conqueror. This monarch, the self-styled king of kings, is said to have fitted out a fleet of four hundred vessels in the Arabian Gulf, with which he subdued all the lands along the Erythrian Sea to India, which country he then overran as far as the Ganges. No traces of this conquest, however, exist; and no authentic record details the progress of his victorious march, so that the occurrence is an extremely doubtful one. A more probable event—though perhaps not more trustworthy in point of detail—is the invasion of the country by the

Assyrian Queen Semiramis. We learn from the historian, Diodorus, who writes mainly upon the authority of Ctesias, that this celebrated sovereign, after having carried her arms victoriously over Media, Persia, Egypt, and Ethiopia, was induced, by the reports which reached her concerning the wealth and natural resources of the land, to bring it also within the compass of her vast empire.

The account of her expedition reads like a romance. Two great obstacles appear to have stood in the way of her advance, namely—the broad and rapid current of the Indus, and the employment of elephants by the natives. The first difficulty was met by the construction of vessels suited to the necessities of the occasion; the second by employing sham elephants of ox-hides in which men and camels were placed. An army of a million of fighting-men, with the necessary supplies, was collected, and marched to the bank of the great river. Upon the opposite side the Indian king, Strabobates, had posted himself with an equally formidable host to oppose her advance. In mid-stream the combatants met. The rudely-constructed boats of the Indian commander were no match for the more substantial craft of Semiramis, with whom, therefore, after a gallant struggle, the victory remained. Her immense host now crossed into the enemy's country, and a battle began in which the tide of fortune was turned in favour of the Indian monarch, who, by means of his elephants, overthrew his adversary with great slaughter. Semiramis fled with an army diminished to one-fourth its original force; and neither she nor any of her successors again attempted an expedition in this direction.

The next undertaking of the kind on record was that of Scylax of Caryandra in the employ of Darius Hystaspes, monarch of Persia, and the most distinguished naval commander of the age. This expedition, although partaking rather the character of an exploration than a conquest, was, nevertheless, the prelude to the subjugation of the country, and its reduction to the condition of a satrapy of the Persian empire. Although the account of the expedition, as given by Herodotus, is extremely

meagre, we contemplate it with greater interest and satisfaction; inasmuch as, for the first time, we feel we are treading upon the solid ground of historic narrative.

According to the great father of history, Scylax sailed from Caspatyrus, near the source of the Indus, down the river; and then, turning westward, after an absence of two or three years, arrived in Egypt. The expedition of conquest followed; and that Darius achieved his end is evident from the words of the historian; who, however, while stating the result, gives no details of the conqueror's progress. It does not appear that the territory thus acquired extended far beyond the basin of the Indus; yet, small as it may have been, it was one of the most important of the Persian satrapies; inasmuch as, by reason of its wonderful resources, Darius was able to extract from it a far heavier tribute than that which passed into the Persian treasury from any other portion of his dominions.

It is uncertain how long the territory, known by the ancients as India, remained under the dominion of the Persians; but, in the year 330 B.C., Alexander the Great overran and subdued the Persian empire, led his armies southwards with a view to the conquest of India, which country he affected to consider a dependency of Persia. With some difficulty he crossed the Himalayas; and, being joined by Taxiles an Indian chieftain, advanced to the Hydaspes. Here he was met by Porus, who manfully disputed his passage of the river. The bravery of his soldiers, however, was no match for the skill of Alexander. The stream was crossed, Porus was defeated and taken prisoner, and the victor pressed forward unopposed to the Hyphasis (Sutlej). This stream was the limit of his progress; for, alarmed at the desert character of the country beyond, the troops mutinied and refused to advance. Alexander, grievously disappointed, resolved on leading his forces back to Babylon; but, impelled either by curiosity, or by a genuine desire to augment his geographical knowledge, he determined to explore the Indus. Hence he dispatched Nearchus, his naval commander, for that purpose. The researches of Nearchus,

unsatisfactory as they were, redeemed this expedition of Alexander's from the epithet of fruitless; for they added considerably to the geographical knowledge of the times; and, by means of them, we have been made acquainted with the interesting fact that the condition of Hindu society in these early days was precisely the same as when intercourse with the west first began.

The history of the country after the retreat of Alexander is obscure, perplexing, and of little interest. The records, very scanty in themselves, and untrustworthy in the highest degree, affect to give a copious and detailed chronicle of a number of dynasties which severally ruled in divers parts of the peninsula. The successor of Alexander in his eastern dominions, Seleucus, appears to have retained a hold upon the country; indeed, Plutarch and Pliny assert that the area of India owning his sway was greater than that ruled by his great predecessor. His ambassador to the Indian prince's capital, Megasthenes, gives a report of his observations in the country; but his accounts are so largely mingled with fable that they are of little value.

A blank, therefore, occurs in the history of the country between the period of this embassy and the reign of Antiochus the Great. We know, however, but little of this monarch's connection with India; and it is probable that the dominions shortly after passed out of Syrian hands. The kingdom of Bactria, having thrown off the yoke of the Greeks seventy years after the death of the Macedonian conqueror, kept up an intercourse with India; but it appears to have been of a commercial kind. The Scythian hordes who overran Bactria in the year 126 B.C. took possession of the greater part of the north-western provinces of the peninsula. They retained possession till 56 B.C., when they were driven out by Vieramaditya. After the break-up of the Macedonian empire we hear of no European attempt at domination here. The only object of western nations henceforth was to obtain a share of the benefits accruing from commercial intercourse with so rich a country. We therefore pass on to the era of Mohammedan conquest.

CHAPTER V.

THE MOHAMMEDAN CONQUEST.

First Mohammedan Invasion of India—Sultan Mahmoud's Campaigns—The Ghuznevy Dynasty Established—The Gaurian Dynasty—The Patan Sovereigns—The Slave-kings—The Khilghaes—The Toghlucks—The Moguls—Tamerlane—Baber—Hoomayoon—Akbar—Shah Jehangier—Sir Thomas Roe Ambassador at the Delhi Court—Shah Jehan—Aurungzebe—State of the Empire under him—Shah Allum—Nizam-ul-Mulk—Nadir Shah's Invasion—Collapse of the Mogul Empire.

IN the year 1001, Mahmoud, the Mohammedan sultan of Ghuznee set out from his capital, entered India by way of the Punjaub, defeated the forces of the Hindus under the rajah of Lahore; and, making himself master of the Punjaub, placed it under tribute. He had no sooner turned his back upon his newly acquired dominion than his Hindu subjects revolted, and refused to pay the tribute he had imposed. At one time, indeed, it appeared as though it would have slipped from his grasp; for his Hindu opponents, conscious that they were struggling not less for their religion than for national liberty, fought with a determination which augured well for the success of their efforts. In the fight of Peshawar, however, (1009), the Hindus and their confederates the Goorkas, a tribe inhabiting the hills that bound the Punjaub towards the north-west, were defeated with great slaughter. After this victory Mahmoud was enabled to retire once more to Ghuznee. He carried with him an immense spoil, and captives innumerable.

The transactions of Mahmoud with India may be regarded rather in the light of a series of successful inva-

sions than the permanent acquisition of territory. Indeed, he appears rather in the light of a religious zealot than a warrior bent on conquest for conquest's own sake. Twelve different raids upon the country are recorded of Sultan Mahmoud, each of which was marked by the wholesale demolition of native temples, the ruthless desecration of most sacred things, and the confiscation of the treasures collected in the holy cities. Such a policy, while it has marred the character of an otherwise generous prince, was unfortunately destined to bring forth more bitter fruits than the military triumphs of the most arrogant of conquerors led on by mere ambition; inasmuch as it engendered such a hatred of the Mohammedan as the lapse of centuries has failed to eradicate.

Mahmoud died in the year 1028, leaving a dominion which stretched from Ispahan eastward to the Ganges—an extensive territory; but, excepting the Indian portion of it, thinly peopled, and altogether, from the diversity of its elements, difficult to handle. He therefore left to his successors a troublesome heritage; and the Ghuznev dynasty, as it is termed, which ended in 1186, with Sultan Kusru Mulik, presents a series of revolt, sedition, intrigue, assassination, and violence which is scarcely surpassed in the annals of any other people. The Hindus during this period made but one serious effort to rid themselves of their oppressors; but, being defeated by Sultan Modud before the walls of Lahore, the seat of government in this quarter, they were constrained to remain in quiet subjection to their Mohammedan conquerors.

The Ghuznev dynasty was deposed by an Afghan named Mohammed Gaury, who invaded the Punjaub and took Lahore and Benares, and reduced Ajmere and the country south of the Jumna. Finally, having dethroned the unfortunate Kusru, he proclaimed himself sultan at Ghuznee. Mohammed Gaury did more to prepare for the establishment of Moslem dominion in India than any other of her conquerors.

In 1205, Mohammed Gaury fell by the daggers of

Goorka assassina. The founder of the Gaurian dynasty, he may be considered also the last sovereign of the race; for, although the succession was for a time continued in his family, all real authority in India ceased with his death, and his virtual successor was his viceroy.

In Kuttub-ud-Deen, therefore, a new dynasty, known as the Patan, may be said to have begun. The first ten sovereigns of the race are called the Delhian slave-kings, from the fact that the first, Kuttub, was originally a slave in the house of Mohammed Gaury. Altumish, the successor of Kuttub, had likewise been a slave. He proved to be a good and able prince; and he greatly extended the territory of his predecessors. While Kuttub and Altumish were the greatest of these slave-kings, the most remarkable was the Sultana Begum Ruzeea, as standing alone among Mohammedans as a reigning queen. The most exemplary was Nasir-ud-Deen, or Mohammed the Second; and the most worthless, Keikobad.

With Keikobad the slave dynasty of Delhi ceased. It was followed by that of the Khilghees, a race of warlike chieftians, who, settling in the mountains of the Punjaub, had, by their military genius, raised themselves into importance under the Gaurian sovereigns. Julal-ud-Deen was the first and best of the race, and Alla-ud-Deen the greatest, though the most wayward and overbearing. The genius of this able monarch was serviceable in checking the invasions of the Mongol Tartars, who, in the thirteenth century, under their great chieftain Zenghis Khan, had ravaged the continent from the Pacific to the Danube, and now appeared in great force upon the soil of India. Mubarick, a profligate of the cast of the Roman, Nero, was the last of the Khilghee race.

The short-lived dynasty of the Toghluks followed (1321). It was founded by Ghazy Beg Toghluks, a good man and an able monarch. Under the Toghluks dynasty the Mohammedan dominion of India attained a high degree of splendour. It embraced all northern India, from the Suliman Mountains to the Hooghley, and from the Himalayas to the Vindhya Hills, with the excep-

tion of Rajpootana, which was merely tributary. This dominion was possessed of an organised system of government which, considering the numerous changes that had taken place in the matter of its rulers, the difficulties they had to combat, and the dangers they were called upon to meet, speaks well for the energy and ability of its sultans as a whole.

The dynasty which had supplanted that of the Khilghees was now destined to fall before the resistless onsets of the Moguls. Taking advantage of the disorders which followed at Delhi upon the death of Homayoon, Timour, or Tamerlane, a successor of Zenghis Khan, having overrun the Turkish Empire and Persia without the slightest pretext beyond that which success had given him, set out in 1397 from Samarcand, his capital, and arrived in due time in the Punjab, defeated Sultan Mahmoud, and took possession of Delhi. Tamerlane did not tarry long at Delhi, as employment was provided him elsewhere; for, recrossing the Indus, he hastened upon his famous expedition against the Ottoman ruler Bajazet. During his absence, however, his lieutenant for a time upheld his authority, though with difficulty; but the empire, so compact under the Toghluks, was fast approaching total dismemberment—a process which the invasion of Tamerlane served rather to accelerate than otherwise.

After the death of Tamerlane his vast dominions collapsed; and the affairs of India fell, as did the rest of his possessions, into sad confusion. The governors of provinces began to assert their independence; and the splendid empire founded by Sultan Mahmoud, and developed by the genius of subsequent sovereigns, broke into fragments. Fortunately, a master hand was near with the ability to collect its atoms, and administer that welding process which alone could restore the empire to its former grandeur and importance.

This was none other than the illustrious Baber, a lineal descendant of the Tartar conqueror, and in every way one of the most remarkable men of the age. To trace the vicissitudes of his romantic career were unnecessary

and out of place. Suffice it to say that this bold and able man, after firmly establishing himself upon the throne of his ancestors in Transoxiana, carried his arms into India, and, in the year 1526, seized the throne of Delhi. He met here with no little opposition from the Indian inhabitants, and especially from the Rajpoots. They were, however, one by one overcome in a series of the most brilliant campaigns on record; and when at length this powerful monarch paid the debt of nature, he left to Hoomayoon, his son, a majestic though a somewhat troublesome heritage.

Hoomayoon proved a worthy son of a worthy sire, though his tastes were rather those of the student than the military leader; and, had he been permitted to follow his own bent, the empire might have been at peace. This, though, was not to be. A formidable insurrection was organised against his rule; and for a while he was forced to seek safety in exile. Meanwhile, his successful antagonist, Sheer Shah Soor, mounted the throne, and founded another Afghan dynasty. It fell after an existence of fifteen years; and Hoomayoon again obtained possession of the throne from which he had been driven. This second reign of Hoomayoon was but a short one, as an accident put an end to his career.

Fortunately for the sway of the Moguls, a vigorous successor was at hand in his youthful son Akbar. Notwithstanding the exertions of Baber and Hoomayoon the empire was still in an unsettled condition; and Akbar was thus surrounded by dangers of no mean order. Rebellion followed rebellion in rapid sequence; while the depredations of invaders taxed his utmost resources. He, however, proved himself equal to every emergency; and when, after a long reign of fifty years, he died (1605), he left an empire greatly extended, if not consolidated. His son, Shah Jehangier, succeeded him. The reign of this sovereign, like that of his sire, was full of revolt. It is otherwise remarkable from the fact that the first English ambassador to the East was accredited to his court. He was sent in the interests of commerce. Sir Thomas Roe

was the envoy selected. During a three years' sojourn here he lived on terms of the closest intimacy with the Mogul; and he was by this circumstance enabled to make such a minute observation of things, as an individual otherwise situated could never have done. His account of the Mogul court speaks of a splendour and magnificence beyond conception.

Shah Jehan, his son and successor, was a worthy representative of his grandfather Akbar. He pushed the conquests of his illustrious ancestor southwards, warred successfully with the Portuguese, who by this time possessed settlements upon the coasts, and drove them from the Hooghley. Shah Jehan, was deposed, 1660, by his son Aurungzebe, who, with his uncles Morud and Dara, had troubled the latter years of his reign by their turbulence. This was a fate he in justice merited, inasmuch as he himself had wrested the throne from his father—an act which the splendour of his reign and the wisdom of his administration could not condone. Although a usurper, Aurungzebe was no parricide. He treated his progenitor with great consideration and tenderness till his death, which occurred six years afterwards.

The Mogul sceptre was now in able hands. Indeed, in Aurungzebe, it may be said to have attained the summit of its power and magnificence; for, at his death in 1717, he had so far widened the area of former conquests, that the influence of the Mogul emperors was felt from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. The most troublesome portion was the hill-country of Malwar, Kandeish, and Berar. Here dwelt that hardy race known as the Mahrattas, who, under a chief named Sivajee, proved such formidable adversaries that, although often defeated in battle, so far from being subdued, they seemed to receive fresh vigour from defeat; and these sturdy opponents of Aurungzebe and his dynasty remained a power in the Indian peninsula when the dominion of the Moguls was but a shadow and a mockery. In addition to the Mahrattas, the Rajpoots and the Jats proved likewise troublesome neighbours.

The death of Aurungzebe heralded an era of complete confusion. He left several sons, between whom a deadly conflict was carried on for the honour of succession. One of these, Muazzim, having overcome and slain his brother Azim, in a decisive action near Agra, ascended the throne; and, under the title of Bahadur Shah, or Shah Allum, enjoyed a short but vigorous reign of five years—his chief exploit being the prosecution of successful campaigns against the Sikhs. A stormy period followed, during which several of the race of Aurungzebe succeeded, and wielded the sceptre for a brief space indeed, and that subject to the dictation of two prophet brothers, Hussein and Abdallah. In the year 1719, Mahommed Shah, a grandson of Bahadur was placed by them upon the throne. It was during his reign that Nizam-ul-Mulk, viceroy of the Deccan, among other governors of the Mogul dominions, taking advantage of the feeble condition of the government, asserted his independence of the court of Delhi. He was assisted by the famous Nadir Shah (known also as Thamus Kuli Khan), king of Persia, who, bent on his own rather than the Nizam's aggrandisement, seized and plundered Delhi, and made himself master of the provinces west of the Indus. Nizam-ul-Mulk, however, became independent; and his name is one of the most conspicuous, if not among the greatest, in the history of the Mogul period.

The representatives of Tamerlane still continued to reign in Delhi; but their authority was henceforth of a very nominal kind. The Deccan was, as has been said, in the hands of Nizam-ul-Mulk. The Punjaub, overrun by the Sikhs, and Scinde by the Beloochees, were virtually severed from the Mogul dominions. Further on, the country was incorporated in the Persian province of Candahar. The Rohillas seized another portion of the empire, and formed an independent kingdom within a few days' march of Delhi itself. The Mahrattas, as we have seen—never subdued, and now exercising undisputed possession of the whole of Central India—could, with greater ease than ever, defy dictation from the Mogul

capital; while the more distant provinces, as Bengal and the Carnatic, ceasing to regard the mandates of the emperor, set up nabobs or rajahs of their own at pleasure. The reign of Ahmed Shah, the son of Mohammed, may be said to have virtually put an end to the authority of the court of Delhi; and thus the once powerful Mogul emperors, whose dominions had in times gone by reached from the Himalayas to the extreme south of the peninsula, was now represented by a few miles of territory around Delhi.

CHAPTER VI

EARLY INTERCOURSE OF EUROPEAN NATIONS WITH INDIA.

European Intercourse with India—Early Maritime Expeditions—The Portuguese—Diego Cam—Emanuel—Alvarez Cabral—Alphonse Albuquerque—The Dutch—The English Explorers—Lancaster's Expedition—Establishment of the East India Company—Factory at Surat—Similar Establishments at other Places—Action of Aurungzebe—The new English Policy.

THE great Mogul empire, then, had collapsed; but upon its ruins an empire was about to arise stronger, happier, and destined to be more enduring, namely—the mighty dominion of British India. It will be well, therefore, at this stage to pause for the purpose of tracing British connection with the country from its beginning.

European intercourse with India is, beyond all question, of great antiquity. From time immemorial the products of this wealthy portion of the earth had found their way westward into Europe; and the increased knowledge gained concerning the resources of the country from the Macedonian expedition assisted materially in developing commercial enterprise in this quarter. That appetite of the Romans for every kind of luxury which furnished themes for the eloquence of Cato, created a rare demand for the products of the East; and it is mainly to this cause that the princely cities of the Middle Ages, as Genoa and Venice, owed their wealth and importance.

Hitherto the commodities of the East had been to a great extent carried overland; and Egypt, Arabia, and Syria, with the Red Sea and the Euphrates river, were the main channels for their transit. A new era was about to open, and the complexion of mercantile concerns

was destined to undergo a total change. The passion for maritime adventure which appears to have possessed the soul of the fifteenth century led to the discovery of new regions and ocean tracks. The Spaniards led the way; and, by-and-bye, their discoveries beyond the Atlantic may be said to have initiated that course of ocean exploration so promptly followed, first by their neighbours the Portuguese, and then by the Dutch and English.

The Portuguese were the first of the nations of western Europe to open intercourse with India. To reach this favoured quarter had been the endeavour of this little nation ever since they had possessed a navy; and the success which attended their exertions in this direction was no more than a meet reward for their perseverance and enterprise. Long before Columbus had trod the deck of a vessel, her kings had despatched exploring expeditions to Africa with the view of reaching the much-desired goal; and, ere the great Florentine navigator had established his immortal reputation by discovering the hitherto unknown land of the West, the Portuguese mariner, Bartholomew Diaz, had rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and thereby struck out a path by which eastern produce was in future to find its way into Europe. It was reserved for Vasco de Gama, a mariner in the employ of Emanuel, to utilise the discovery of Diaz. He reached India in 1598, landed on the Malabar coast, and obtained an audience of the Zamorin of Calicut; but, through the jealousy of his Mussulmen, he was unable to secure the advantages for which he had sought the monarch's presence.

Vasco therefore returned to Lisbon; and another expedition was shortly after fitted out, which carried with it the papal benediction. The command was given to Alvarez Cabral, who, as his predecessor had done, made for Calicut. After much negotiation, a trading-factory was established here, which, however, through the intrigues of the Mohammedans, was subsequently destroyed, and its Portuguese garrison put to the sword. After taking some retaliatory measures, Cabral returned to Portugal.

Other and more fortunate expeditions of the kind followed those of Vasco and Alvarez; and in such manner was the development of western European intercourse with India gradually effected.

In these expeditions, then, the name of De Gama stands pre-eminent among the pioneers of commercial dealings with this part of the world; but to Alphonso Albuquerque belongs the honour of having established Portuguese influence on a stable basis. Fixing upon Goa as a viceregal residence, he declared it the capital of the Portuguese dominions in India; and from thence gave laws to the whole Malabar coast, commanded the entire Indian seas, and forced the very cities that once had monopolised the Indian trade in Europe to seek eastern commodities in Lisbon. It is painful to learn that the exertions of this great man should have been rewarded with the basest ingratitude at the hands of those for whom he had done so much; for, after having made his nation masters of the Indian seas, he was recalled, and a personal enemy sent to fill his place. Portuguese dominion may be said to have attained its climax during his ministration. A few unimportant places were added by his successors; and their fleets, stronger than those of other nations, enabled them to maintain a decided superiority upon the ocean. They were not quite so fortunate on land; and they were shortly to be outdistanced in the race for superiority by other European states.

First the Dutch, and then the English began to question their title to a monopoly of the commerce of these parts. The Portuguese at this time claimed dominion over Eastern waters from the Cape of Good Hope as far as China; and this comprehended a line of coast some thousands of miles in extent. Such a line they might maintain against the fleets of the nations in whose territories their several factories stood; but a hopeless task was theirs when European seamanship was thrown into the balance against them. A long and bitter conflict in time occurred between them and the Dutch. First they

were deprived of the spice trade of Sumatra and Java; and then, in endeavouring to recover it, they met with so dispiriting a check in a sea-fight off the Cape de Verde Islands that they were induced to try another method. Accordingly they essayed to cripple their trade; and to this end they gave encouragement to piracy. Nevertheless, the more energetic character of their adversaries prevailed; and the supremacy of the Dutch in the Indian seas was soon beyond question established.

In 1605, the Dutch formed a settlement in Ceylon; and, after a long and bloody struggle, expelled their rivals from the island. Subsequently, Malacca fell into their hands; and gradually the Portuguese, once so powerful in this quarter of the world, sank into comparative insignificance—their possessions being represented by a few factories on the coast of Hindustan.

Meanwhile, English influence had been fast gaining ground. The expeditions of the illustrious navigators of the Tudor age, the Cabots, Willoughby, Chancellor, Hudson, Drake, Frobisher, and others, had raised our country to an honourable position among the maritime nations of the times; and though the exploits of these mariners had no connection with India itself, India was their great aim; and their exertions indirectly led to that intercourse with the country which was destined by-and-bye to produce such magnificent results.

The earliest efforts of our mariners were directed to the discovery of an Arctic passage. Such was the aim of the expeditions of Willoughby, Davis, and Hudson; and when the discoveries attending these enterprises had served to convince the community that no such channel was practicable, attention was drawn to the route of Magellan, and Sir Francis Drake's celebrated voyage of discovery (1577), and that of Cavendish in 1586, were undertaken as a consequence. Such expeditions greatly enhanced our knowledge of these parts; and the desire to trade with them became a stronger passion with our countrymen than ever. No attempt had as yet been made to round the Cape of Good Hope eastwards; for,

according to the custom of nations in these times, the Portuguese, as the discoverers, claimed exclusive right of navigating this route.

The first English attempt to reach India by way of the Cape was that of Captain Lancaster in 1592. Although, however, that feat was successfully accomplished, and Lancaster got as far eastward as Malacca, the expedition met with little ultimate success; and this failure served to damp the ardour of the nation for a time; while the Dutch, having established their supremacy over the Portuguese, were left to pursue, under the leadership of the celebrated Houtmann, an uninterrupted commercial policy in Indian waters.

The earliest trading expeditions to the East were individual and private enterprises; and it is to this circumstance, no doubt, that they so frequently ended in failure. The necessity for collective effort, however, soon became apparent; and, following the example of the Dutch, the English merchants resolved to combine. By this means only could an adequate number of vessels, with necessary supplies, be provided. Queen Elizabeth patronised their earliest association, and despatched in their behalf an ambassador to the court of the Mogul. In 1600, this association merged into a chartered company of a larger scope, which took the title of "The Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies." We here behold the germ of the most princely and powerful association ever established in this or any other country—namely, the famous East India Company.

The earlier enterprises were placed under Lancaster, whose talent, as displayed in the conduct of his ill-fated expedition, had won him confidence. His object was to reach the Indian Archipelago; and, having gained the coast of Sumatra, he brought thence a cargo of spices, a commodity at that time in great demand. The profits accruing from this Eastern trade were so enormous that the company, by-and-bye, sought to extend their operations; and, having obtained a new charter from James I. (1609), they sent out expeditions strong enough to

encounter the opposition which the Dutch and Portuguese, in their jealousy, had been wont to offer.

Notwithstanding the exertions of Sir Henry Middleton, to whom the newly-organised Company entrusted their first expedition (1610), it was three years ere any material advance was made. It was then that the first permanent factory was established, by permission of the Mogul, at Surat, on the Indian coast; and, for the furtherance of English interests, James despatched Sir Thomas Roe as ambassador to the Mogul court. Forts and colonies were likewise planted in Java and the Moluccas; not without considerable opposition, however, from the Dutch, who, after many and unwearied attempts to make the English name odious to the natives, at length managed to cover themselves with eternal disgrace by a cold-blooded massacre of English residents at Amboyna.

In order to put an end to the differences arising from these commercial jealousies, various treaties had been entered into between the two rival nations, but with little result. Frequent disputes were still the order of the day; and eventually English trade with the islands was all but abandoned to the Dutch. This was, of course, humiliating; but the Dutch had at this time shown themselves in European waters a fair match for our countrymen; and, having had the advantage of a good start in the Indian seas, there is little wonder they were able to hold their own, and finally to acquire preponderance there. Nevertheless, the Company's Indian-trade gained by the circumstance, and Surat now rose into greater importance. In 1662, the company acquired Bombay, the dower of Charles the Second's Portuguese bride, from the crown; and, harassed at Surat by the exactions of the Moguls and the depredations of the Mahrattas, the presidency was removed to this new and superior station.

Meantime, settlements had been made upon the opposite coast at Madras, Fort St. David, Masulipatam, Vizagapatam, at Hooghley, and Calcutta. The arrogance of our countrymen, at one time, placed English interest in con

siderable jeopardy; for the great Aurungzebe, enraged at the seizure of some pilgrim ships, ordered the English to be expelled from India. The Company was stripped of its principal factories; and it was only by tendering a humble apology, with promises of good behaviour, that these stations, together with their former privileges, were restored. Not that even now the Company had all its own way. Rival associations at home, the unwearied enmity of the Dutch, Portuguese, and French, who also possessed settlements upon the Indian coasts, and the anger and mistrust of native princes, gave its servants ample employment; and it was with great difficulty that they succeeded in maintaining a position in this peninsula.

That position, however, was maintained. From the time of the restoration of the Mogul's firman, the company began to aspire to unrestrained authority; and, for the first time, perhaps, the idea of territorial acquisition became a part of their policy. The disturbed condition of the empire, which followed upon the death of Aurungzebe, rendered a fortification of the settlements an absolute necessity; and thus these spots, which had been originally selected for trading purposes merely, became in time military stations likewise, whence British arms issued to spread the Company's influence over the peninsula. The process of development will appear as the history progresses.

CHAPTER VII.

WAR IN THE CARNATIC.

Relative Positions of Europeans in India—Encroachments of the French—Labourdonnais—Dupleix—Fort St. David and Pondicherry besieged—Projects of Dupleix—Cession of Devicotta to the English—Chunda Sahib—The Deccan—Arcot—Nasir Jung and Mozuffur Jung—Mahomed Ally—Triumph of the French—M. Bussy—Salabat Jung—Appearance of Clive—Lawrence—Siege of Trichinopoly—Views of the French Government—Native Disputes—Clive returns to India.

THERE were now, it has been seen, something like half a dozen European nations in the commercial field of India. Of these, the French and English were the most powerful; for the Portuguese had long been outdistanced in the race; and the Dutch, absorbed in the prosecution of their spice trade in the Indian Archipelago, were, like them, gradually losing ground. The race was therefore virtually between the French and English, who, rivals in every other quarter of the globe, were destined ere long to close in deadly strife on the soil of this eastern land. The French factories were not so numerous as the English; but in Pondicherry, which they obtained in 1672 of the rajah of Bejapore, they possessed an important key to the peninsula, a strong fortress, commanding a considerable territory, inhabited by a well-disposed population, and in every way a prosperous colony. In addition to Pondicherry, they had likewise established a settlement at Chandernagore on the Hooghley, and another at Carical on the Coromandel coast.

The confusion that accompanied the break up of the Mogul empire but little affected the interests of the

Europeans in India. Intent upon the pursuit of business, they were careful to observe a strict neutrality; and while a tempest of strife was raging around them, and the war-shout reached the very walls of their settlements, commercial enterprise was making sure though steady progress. This happy condition of affairs might have continued, but for the jealousies and hates which circumstances had engendered between the European nations themselves. The presence of these evil passions, however, led to the adoption of another policy, and to the initiation of a career of territorial conquest and spoliation, which, till now, had never been so much as dreamed of.

In 1744, the Silesian war broke out in Europe; and the rival nations were not long in availing themselves of the opportunity the circumstance gave them, of giving play to their passions by turning their arms against each other here as nearer home. In anticipation of events, indeed, the French had despatched M. Labourdonnais, a man of considerable naval genius, with a powerful squadron to the Indian coast; and the English had been equally careful to prepare for emergencies.

Operations were commenced by Labourdonnais, who, after beating off an English fleet under Commodore Barnet, laid siege to Madras. This fortress, being feebly garrisoned, was obliged to capitulate. The surrender of the place was accompanied by certain terms favourable to the vanquished; but Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, refused to ratify them, and, in violation of the treaty, transferred the garrison to Pondicherry. The English had previously appealed to the nabob of the Carnatic, but without result; and now, irritated beyond measure at the haughty bearing of the French, he was determined upon taking up arms against them.

It was, however, too late. Without the support of English allies, his army of natives was no match for the skill of Dupleix, and the superior discipline of his men. He was consequently defeated with considerable loss, and forced to withdraw to Arcot. Dupleix next laid siege to Fort St. David, a station a few miles to the south of

Pondicherry. This place was strongly fortified; and, being reinforced by arrivals from England, successfully withstood every assault. So strong had the English garrison become, that an attack on Pondicherry itself was organised. The siege was unskilfully conducted; and, in view of the approaching monsoon, the assailants retired, having lost one thousand men, chiefly from the effects of climate. Dupleix was elated beyond measure at this failure, and it is difficult to conjecture what might have been the result of it, had not the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1749) put an end to hostilities. By this treaty Madras was restored to the English.

The two nations had now no pretext for warfare, and there was consequently nothing to interrupt the development of commerce by both nations. Unfortunately for the cause of peace and good will, the mind of the French governor had been filled with ambitious projects of empire; and the late campaign had taught him the most likely way of accomplishing his ends. He had observed the vast superiority of well-disciplined Europeans over native troops; and the idea occurred to him, that if by any reasonable pretext he could bring himself into antagonism with the native princes, the right of might and victory would give him a footing in the country such as the most advantageous treaties and promises could never secure. Moreover, the success which had attended European arms in the recent conflict had created in the minds of the natives a salutary respect for European prowess, and the effect soon appeared in the applications made to them for support in their intestine feuds. It was, then, in this silent recognition of European valour and worth, that Dupleix beheld a path which, judiciously followed, would lead him to the goal of his ambition.

The same idea would seem to have possessed the minds of his rivals also; and, indeed, it was but a natural consequence of things at the time; but as yet their aspirations appear to have been extremely moderate; for, having assisted the rajah Sanbajee in his attempt to gain the sovereignty of Tanjore, they were content to accept the

cession of Devicotta, on the Coleroon river, as compensation for their services. This transaction gains prominence from the fact that Clive, then a mere lieutenant in the company's service, gave the earliest proof of that genius which was to raise him by-and-bye to the very loftiest place among military leaders.

Dupleix was now about to play for a far higher stake. His rivals had been content to accept as tribute to their superiority an insignificant town—a valuable acquisition, no doubt, in a commercial sense, but a mere bagatelle when compared with the vast scope of his aspirations.

The disorders before alluded to had at length provided ample opportunity for the carrying out of the Frenchman's designs. A few years previously, the rajah of Trichinopoly, a small principality in the Carnatic, died, leaving three wives, two of whom burned themselves on the funeral pile of their husband; while the third survived, and claimed the honour of government. Her claim was opposed by Safdur Ally, and supported by Chunda Sahib, son-in-law of Dost Ally, governor of the Carnatic, and a crafty man. By treachery he got possession of Trichinopoly; but he was speedily deprived of his authority, and sent a prisoner to Sattara. Meanwhile, his wife took refuge at Pondicherry, where, having gained the good will of Madame Dupleix, the French governor espoused their cause, and bribed the Mahratta jailors of Chunda Sahib to set him at liberty. The gates of Trichinopoly were, however, closed against him; and it seemed as though he were about to drop out of view, when an event happened which brought his name still more prominently into notice.

For, at this juncture, Nizam-ul-Mulk, soubadah of the Deccan died, and the inevitable dispute arose as to the succession. The claimants were Nazir Jung, his son, and Mozuffur Jung, his grandson. The latter had, at first, but slight chance of success; but, by-and-bye, Chunda Sahib joined him, and in that prince he found an astute counsellor. He pointed out to him the advantage that might be gained by an alliance with the governor of Pondi-

cherry, and from that time his prospects began to brighten. The earliest operations of these allies were carried on in the Carnatic. Here they defeated and slew the nabob Anwur-ud-Deen, and took Arcot. They then proclaimed Mozuffur Jung soubadah of the Deccan, and Chunda Sahib nabob of Arcot—an honour to which he had long aspired. He now laid siege to Tanjore, and extracted from its rajah a large sum as the price of peace. Meanwhile, Nazir Jung had arrived unexpectedly from the Deccan; and having recaptured Arcot, Chunda and his allies were constrained to seek safety within the walls of Pondicherry.

When Arcot fell into the hands of Chunda Sahib, Mahomed Ally, son of the slain nabob, had fled to Trichinopoly, and here began to court the alliance of the English. The authorities of Madras were at first reluctant to enter the arena; but, fearful of the growing influence of the French, they eventually sent him a handful of Europeans. The Carnatic being a dependency of the Deccan, the cause of Mahomed Ally was identical with that of Nazir Jung; and a contingent was consequently despatched under Major Lawrence to join that prince's native army, which was then advancing to the attack of Pondicherry.

The struggle opened favourably for the English and their allies; but the superior diplomacy of Dupleix more than compensated for the success of his rival's arms, and the tables were quickly turned in favour of his party. He reduced Masulipatam and Gingee, and then taking advantage of the discontent prevailing in Nazir's camp, advanced to meet his forces in the field. Aided by the treachery of certain Patan chiefs, he gained an easy victory. Nazir Jung was put to death, and Mozuffur Jung was forthwith proclaimed soubadah of the Deccan.

No triumph could be more complete than that of Dupleix. The soubadah of the Deccan and the nabob of Arcot, both owed their advancement to his support; and henceforth they must be bound to him by the twofold tie of gratitude and awe. He was appointed governor of all the district south of the Krishna. The coin in circulation

throughout the province was to be struck at Pondicherry; and to him was accorded the important privilege of collecting the tribute due to the Mogul. As a private recognition of his services, he was rewarded with a handsome grant from the treasury of the deceased Nazir.

The position of the new soubadah, however, was, notwithstanding the support of Dupleix, a difficult one. The Patan chiefs promised to give trouble, and he was obliged further to entreat the good offices of the French governor, who gave him a body-guard to protect him against treachery. This precaution was, nevertheless, of no avail; for, having fallen into an ambuscade of the followers of the chief of Kurnul, he was slain by the same hand that so lately had lain his rival low.

This untoward event might have been attended with serious consequences; but M. Bussy, the French commander, was equal to the emergency. Sending for Salabat Jung, another son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, he caused him to be proclaimed in his dead brother's stead. The newly-chosen soubadah willingly confirmed all the promises of his predecessor; and the prompt action of Bussy consequently received the approval of the governor.

France was now, through the ability of her leaders, fast becoming a power in India. She had outdistanced her rival in the race for superiority here; and the advantage she had thus acquired, enhanced by British indifference, had placed her far upon the road to the attainment of a position whence she might by-and-bye thrust her rivals into the sea. Such an event was not only a possibility, it seemed upon the point of consummation. The home governments abstained at present from interference in the warlike proceedings of their merchant subjects; for a peaceful relationship existed between the two countries. Hence this Indian struggle was a curious phenomenon.

It was at this juncture that the transcendent talent of Clive began to force itself into notice. This man, to whom the British nation is chiefly indebted for its splendid eastern empire, was the son of a gentleman of Shropshire. He had gone out to India as a clerk in the

company's service. Of a restless and stirring spirit, the monotony of a life at the desk was irksome; and he soon threw down the pen to take up the sword. The earliest incident of his warrior life on record has already been noticed. Subsequent events served to give his talents greater prominence; but what established his reputation as a skilful soldier was the accomplishment of a bold and well-designed attack on Arcot, undertaken to draw Chunda Sahib from before Trichinopoly, to which he had laid siege.

His defence of the place was no less masterly than its capture. With a mere handful of men, and these reduced by failure of supplies to starvation point, for seven long weeks he defended a shambling fortress against the assaults of 10,000 troops, till relieved by some friendly Mahrattas, under a chieftain named Morai Row; when, as if to make up for his forced inactivity, he sallied from his stronghold, and attacking his enemies, defeated them in several engagements. These exploits of Clive exercised a powerful moral effect both on natives and Englishmen. It taught the one the worth of English alliance, and roused the other from the dangerous lethargy which seemed to have fastened upon them.

A most sublime episode occurred in connection with this memorable siege. The garrison, composed of a mixed company of natives and Europeans, were considerably straitened from the exhaustion of food supplies; and in this condition it was supposed that the native portion would break into rebellion, or at least evince a spirit of discontent. So far from this, they came to Clive and magnanimously proposed that the grain should be given to the Europeans, and the gruel, or water it was boiled in, to themselves. "History," says Macaulay, "contains no more touching instance of military fidelity, or of the influence of a commanding mind. . . . The devotion of the little band to its chief surpassed anything that is related of the Tenth Legion of Cæsar, or of the Old Guard of Napoleon."

Clive's exploits, however, for the present ended here. Chunda Sahib was still before Trichinopoly; and Major

Lawrence, who was now in supreme command, hastened to carry out the policy of Clive, and attack him there. In conjunction with Mahomed Ally, who had been reinforced by contingents from Mysore, Tanjore, and the Mahrattas, Lawrence, taking Clive with him, set out from Madras on this errand; though strongly supported by Dupleix, the perseverance, courage, and skill of Lawrence and his lieutenant prevailed. The siege was raised, and Chunda was obliged to take refuge in an islet of the Cauvery, on which stood the pagoda of Seringham. His new position invested, he was by-and-bye compelled to surrender. Chunda was allowed to go at liberty; but shortly after, falling into the hands of the Mahrattas, he was by them summarily beheaded. The surrender of this fortress gave the English an abundance of military stores.

The war, however, still continued. The conduct of Mahomed Ally having displeased his Mysorean and Mahratta allies, they deserted to the enemy. Dupleix, therefore, at the head of a respectable force, took the field; but in one action, fought near Fort St. David, he was overthrown with great loss, and the campaign of 1752 closed with the capture by Clive of Covelong and Chingleput. As soon as the season would permit the struggle was renewed, and Trichinopoly once more became the centre of military operations. This important fortress, now in the hands of the English, was besieged by the Mahrattas and Tanjoreans, who were assisted by the French; but for a year and a half the garrison defied every effort of its assailants to capture it, till the recall of M. Dupleix, and the appointment of M. Godeheu brought about a suspension of hostilities.

This truce was mainly occasioned by the interference of the home governments, who had wisely determined upon putting a stop to such conflicts, as mutually embarrassing, and thoroughly inconsistent with the spirit of friendly relations then existing between them. The French had never, as a nation, taken any deep interest in the affairs of India; and, while the brain of her great politician was filled with schemes for establishing French

dominion in this peninsula, his countrymen were disposed to listen to the remonstrances of the English, whose determination to put an end to French encroachments in this quarter was judiciously backed by the preparation of a formidable armament. The course taken by his government must have been galling in the extreme to Dupleix, who, however, had no alternative but to submit. He returned to France, and received, as the reward of his exertions, the basest ingratitude from all conditions of his fellow-countrymen.

The terms of the treaty of Pondicherry (1755), drawn up by M. Godeheu, and Mr. Saunders the English governor, were, as a whole, advantageous to the English; but the treaty was operative only in closing hostilities between the two subscribing powers. No arrangement their European allies might choose to make could settle the differences of the principals, and the struggle therefore continued. By the advice of M. Bussy, the Peshwar, the chief officer of state among the Mahrattas, who had taken up arms against Salabat Jung, the French nominee, was induced to withdraw his support from Ghazee-ud-Deen, Nizam-ul-Mulk's eldest son; and this prince, having met with an untimely end, Salabat was now without a rival in the Deccan. The soubadahship of Salabat was certainly not confirmed at Delhi; but, all-powerful in the support of M. Bussy, this was no material consideration. The new soubadah exhibited his gratitude to his European allies by ceding to them the maritime province known as the Northern Circars.

Disputes, however, still remained to trouble the Carnatic. None of the native combatants, excepting perhaps Salabat Jung, were as yet satisfied. The Mysorean regent, Nunjeras, was bent on the possession of Trichinopoly, which, it appears, had once been promised him by Mahomed Ally as the price of his support; and Mahomed Ally himself, at the same time, laid claim to certain tribute as nabob of the Carnatic, and called upon the English to assist him in its collection, which they obeyed. The French, following this example, lent similar aid to

Salabat Jung, and thus the spirit, if not the letter of the treaty of Pondicherry, was violated by both parties. The only redeeming feature of the transaction seems to have been the check it placed upon the depredations of the Peshwar.

In the year 1755, Mr., now Colonel, Clive, appointed to the command of Fort St. David, returned to India. He had been absent in England for two years; but, though his hands had been idle all this time, his mind had been fully occupied; and he now returned, with a head filled with schemes for the aggrandizement of his nation in the East. He had given it as his opinion that, so long as there was a Frenchman in arms in the Deccan, there could be no peace for India; and, in his desire to try conclusions with M. Bussy, he exhibited a spirit similar to that which aforetime had possessed Dupleix when he was heard to declare that he would reduce Madras to the insignificance of a fishing-village. While, however, the design of the one was never accomplished, the object of the other was destined speedily to be realised.

The treaty of Pondicherry prevented Clive from commencing operations against the French; but work was meantime found him in the Mahratta country. The Peshwar was at this time engaged in reducing a refractory vassal named Toolajee Angria, who held possession of a portion of the Malabar coast, in the neighbourhood of Bombay. The encouragement given to piracy by this chieftain was matter of great moment to all, but more especially to the English, whose trade suffered from the depredations of his fleets. With Clive's assistance, Severndroog, one of his strongholds, was reduced; and Bancoote, the first territorial acquisition after Bombay, was ceded to the English by way of reward. Gheria, another piratic nest, on the other hand, defied the Peshwar's effort. It fell, however, to a combined attack of the English by land and sea, and the struggle ended.

Clive now was destined for a time to remain a passive spectator of a peculiar contest. Mutual interest had led to an alliance between the Peshwar and Salabat

Jung; and the French, as allies of the latter, of course took part in the operations that followed. The Peshwar, jealous of the advantage such support gave to Salabat, resolved to deprive him of it. To this end he bribed Salabat's minister; and when the war was terminated by the capture of Savanoor, Bussy, to his extreme surprise, was ordered to retire. He feigned obedience, for his troops had been tampered with. He knew, however, the disadvantage which would arise from such a step, and so he was resolved to fight for the maintenance of his hold upon the Deccan. He might easily have secured it by an alliance with the Peshwar; but, declining all his overtures, he made for Hyderabad; and there, taking up a position in a building called the Char Minar, bade the nizam defiance.

In this position he was besieged by Salabat; but, being reinforced from Pondicherry and Masulipatam by contingents under de Leyrit and Mr. Law, and aided by the treachery of some of the Mahratta allies of his adversary, he presented so formidable a front that Salabat deemed it prudent to come to terms. The conduct of Bussy was highly praiseworthy and dignified. He imposed no new conditions upon his faithless *protégé*, and frankly forgave him his treachery. The French might have secured important advantages from this conduct of Salabat; for no one knew better than the nizam how little he was able to withstand alone the might of Bussy; and the Council of Madras, in view of other employment for their forces, strenuously refused to lend him any assistance. The government of Bombay had, notwithstanding the representations of Clive, likewise determined upon a neutral position; and, for the present at least, Bussy was master of the situation.

CHAPTER VIII

EVENTS IN BENGAL.

The Mahrattas—Aliverdi Khan defends Bengal against their Depredations—Becomes Nabob of the Province—Suraj-ud-Dowlah, his Successor, Besieges Calcutta—Capture of the Garrison—The “Black Hole”—Campaign against Souraj-ud-Dowlah—Plassey—Death of Suraj-ud-Dowlah—Ornichund the Banker.

It will be understood, from the frequency with which the Mahratta name occurs, that this people had become a power of no mean order in the country. And so it was. Established as a nation through the prowess of Sivajee, they, by the wisdom of subsequent leaders, as Bajee Rao, for instance, so rapidly developed in strength and resources that the might of their influence had come to be recognised throughout Central India and the Deccan; and their alliance was consequently eagerly sought by the contending parties in the incessant conflicts of the period. For some time they had been making inroads upon the dominions of the nabob of Bengal; and, but for the genius of Aliverdi Khan, the Afghan commander of the nabob's forces, the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, would doubtless have been brought, like the neighbouring territory, beneath their sway.

So important was this service of Aliverdi Khan considered that, on the death of Shujah-ud-deen, he had little difficulty in setting aside the deceased sovereign's son, and securing the throne of these provinces for himself. Like most usurpers he was a worthy ruler; and, in the present state of things, a boon to the provinces whose affairs he administered. His wars with the Mahratta

invaders were many, and marked by great vicissitude; and, if he was unable to stop their depredations, he at least saved the dominions from conquest. In other respects he gained the gratitude of his subjects, and exhibited a friendly spirit towards the English, to whom he granted the privilege of strengthening Calcutta by fortifications, a portion of which is known to this day as the *Mahratta Ditch*. Had this monarch's successor been a man of his mould the important events about to be enacted in this part of India would probably never have occurred, and the genius of their great hero, Clive, never probably have found a field for its development.

Suraj-ud-Dowlah, however, while possessing much of his grandsire's energy, lacked his wisdom and governmental talent, and was, withal, a man of great depravity and intense cruelty. He greatly oppressed his Hindu subjects; and, irritated at the protection afforded by the authorities of Calcutta to a fugitive subject, Kishen Das, whose immense wealth had rendered him an object of envy to the new nabob, he began to show his displeasure towards his English neighbours in an unmistakable manner. First he demanded the surrender of Kishen Das with his treasures; and then ordered the demolition of the fortifications of Calcutta, taking care to supplement his demands by marching a large army towards the city.

The city was reckoned to be unprepared for a siege; and, at a council of war, it was determined to abandon the place, and take refuge on board the vessels in the river. Some of the residents were already embarked, when the firing of some guns occasioned a panic; and the ships, weighing anchor, dropped down the stream, abandoning the residue to their own resources. The attack was made, and the garrison, totally unable to resist the assaults of the nabob, capitulated.

The sequel is a sad and well-known story. One hundred and forty-six persons, of every age and condition, were thrust into the Black Hole, an abominable prison-house, which in its dimensions scarcely exceeded those of

an ordinary bed-chamber. A scorching clime and absence of ventilation combined to produce suffocation. Water was mercilessly denied the prisoners, and the sick and wounded, dropping one by one, increased, by putrefaction, the horrors of the cell, whose atmosphere soon came to resemble that of a charnel-house. To the many, death came, a merciful deliverer; to the few, he appeared in the light of a heartless mocker, able but unwilling to end their sufferings. The tortures of heat and thirst quickly transformed the survivors from reasonable creatures to raving maniacs. To their frantic cries for relief they received only the jibes of their jailers; and a heart-rending appeal to the soldiers to fire upon them met with a like success. Of the hundred and forty-six persons imprisoned, not more than twenty-three survived this night of horrors; and when, in the morning, their prison doors were opened, the daylight fell upon a ghastly group indeed.

The confiscation of all the English property in Calcutta of course followed upon the capture of the place; and the English were now left without a possession in Bengal. Great was the indignation at Madras when tidings of this diabolical drama reached the city. Vengeance, however, was neither swift nor severe. After wasting some time in deliberation, Clive was despatched to the scene with a force of 2000 men and some artillery; and a fleet of ten vessels under Admiral Watson received orders to co-operate with the land forces.

Owing to the monsoon, it was December before the expedition reached the Ganges. With that celerity, however, which characterises all its distinguished leader's movements, the operations were at once commenced; and Buj-buj, the first fortress attacked, quickly surrendered. On reaching Calcutta the fleet commenced the bombardment. The nabob's garrison fled with precipitation, and the English flag once more waved above its ramparts.

The recovery of Calcutta was deemed sufficient to satisfy the claims of justice merely; and Clive now contemplated retribution. Ascending the river he attacked and took the town of Hooghley; but, being somewhat

alarmed at the advance of the nabob with a formidable force, and having heard rumours of the outbreak of war between England and France, he thought it prudent to pause. His action, too, was crippled by the conduct of the council, who were irritated because he had presumed to act independently of them.

Suraj-ud-Dowlah had been vainly appealing to the French, who had a garrison of 600 Europeans at Chandernagore. Disappointed in his hopes of support in this quarter, he determined to trust to his own resources; and, with this resolve, he marched from Moorshedabad, and again took up a position near Calcutta. His army of 40,000 men was met by Clive's little band of 2000 Europeans and Sepoys. Being worsted in the field, he entered into negotiations with the council, and terms of peace were speedily agreed upon. This treaty was most advantageous to the interests of the company; but, inasmuch as no compensation was sought for the sufferers of the Calcutta tragedy, it was considered anything but satisfactory.

The Seven Years' War had now broken out; and, in Europe, England and France were engaged in deadly strife. There was, consequently, nothing to prevent the recurrence of hostilities between these nations in this quarter of the world; and Clive promptly commenced operations by marching to the attack of Chandernagore. The French claimed the nabob's protection; and Suraj-ud-Dowlah, in his own, rather than in their interests, sent a body of troops to the place. Clive and his colleague, Admiral Watson, were at first disposed to respect the authority of the nabob, and to retire; for M. Bussy was in the Northern Circars with a strong force; and the garrison of Chandernagore was by no means despicable. Perceiving, however, that delay would endanger their interests, the English commanders broke off the negotiations into which they had entered with that prince, and commenced an advance upon the French settlement. In anticipation of events the fortifications of the place had been strengthened; but the besiegers, reinforced from Bombay, were

now in overwhelming might; and, after a gallant defence of nine days, Chandernagore surrendered.

Highly indignant, but utterly powerless to administer retribution, Suraj-ud-Dowlah withdrew to Plassey—Clive, meanwhile, taking his station at Hooghley. The position of the nabob was anything but an enviable one. The Mahrattas under Ahmed Shah Abdally had invaded the empire, and, after plundering Delhi, were advancing upon Bengal. Before him were the English, flushed with victory; while, to add to his perplexity, his own subjects, disgusted with his tyranny and treachery, were plotting against him in all directions. This spirit of rebellion was, of course, encouraged by the English commanders; and, under the flimsy plea of the nabob's own perfidy, Englishmen were not ashamed to take part in the conspiracies set on foot for his deposition.

The chief plotters were Meer Jaffier, the brother-in-law of Aliverdy Khan and commander of the nabob's forces, and a wealthy banker named Ormichund, whom Suraj-ud-Dowlah, to the annoyance of his subjects, had taken into his secret counsels. The nabob was to be dethroned, and his honours vested in Meer Jaffier. Had the English known their own strength, or rather their enemy's weakness, they might have held aloof from such base proceedings; and one of the darkest chapters in the history of the Anglo-Indian empire would thus have remained unwritten.

Emboldened by the knowledge he possessed concerning the spirit that animated the nabob's people, Clive now commenced proceedings. He had been proffered the support of a Mahratta force of 100,000 men, a tempting offer indeed, when it is remembered that, with an army not exceeding 3000 men of all arms, he had bidden defiance to a nation. While, however, his courage at one time well-nigh forsook him, so that he thought of retreat, he, for certain reasons, declined this assistance; and, on the very morrow of his misgivings, his little band was crossing the Ganges on their way towards the nabob's position at Plassey.

By midnight they had advanced so near to the enemy's lines that the challenges of the sentries could almost be heard in either camp; and a collision next day was therefore inevitable. The action was opened by the troops of the nabob, who, at daybreak, commenced a heavy cannonade on the English position, which, fortunately, was well defended by mud-banks. The English gunners replied, and at noon the enemy retired to their fortified camp. Clive now ordered that this position should be stormed. The order was unhesitatingly obeyed; and so vigorous was the onset, that the enemy quickly abandoned their works and fled. Meer Muhdun, the commander of the nabob's army, was killed; and Suraj-ud-Dowlah himself, who had taken no part in the action, fled at a gallop towards Moorshedabad.

The defeat of Suraj-ud-Dowlah at Plassey was instrumental in ridding India of this most tyrannical of governors. For, unwilling to trust himself in Moorshedabad, he fled into the open country, and took refuge in the cave of a dervish. It was an unfortunate move; for it happened to be the abode of a man who had suffered considerably from his cruelty. The dervish treated him with apparent respect; but, meanwhile, sent information concerning his presence to a son of Meer Jaffier. By this prince he was brought back to the capital, and put to death without ceremony.

Meanwhile, Clive passed on in triumph to Moorshedabad, where he proclaimed Meer Jaffier soubadah of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. To the English alone did Meer Jaffier owe this dignity; and it will be readily understood that he would act liberally towards the nation that had so advanced him. Accordingly, the treasures collected by means of the late nabob's tyranny and violence were lavishly employed to compensate those who had in any way suffered from the acts of Suraj-ud-Dowlah. There was no parsimony; and all claims, real or imaginary, were readily admitted. The army and navy received an enormous grant, and the valuable services of Clive were rewarded by a gift of something like half a million ster-

ling. This was the first of those princely grants which went to create him one of the most wealthy men of the time.

Ormichund the banker, however, of whom incidental mention has been made, was treated in a very different manner. He had, it appeared, agreed to accept as the value of his share in the late conspiracy, thirty lacs of rupees, or £300,000. Much had depended upon the co-operation of this man; and, if his nefarious conduct is not to be justified, it was not worse than that of others; and he had, at least, earned his reward by fidelity to the cause of his English employers. When, however, after the revolution had proved a success, he called upon them to redeem their promise, his share was in the first place reduced to twenty lacs, and then, to his intense amazement, he was flatly told that none would be forthcoming. This exhibition of perfidy so affected him that his reason forsook him, and he died about a year after—a hopeless idiot. The only plea that Clive and the other parties to this perfidious transaction could bring forward in extenuation was, the necessity of meeting fraud with fraud. The transaction, nevertheless, was none the less infamous for that; and it must ever remain a blot upon the memory of those who were parties to it.

CHAPTER IX.

STRUGGLES OF THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH.

Events in the Carnatic—Campaign of M. Lally—Investment of Madras—Events in the Deccan and Northern Circars—Fall of Masulipatam—The French driven from the Deccan—Events in Bengal—Clive receives the Quit-rents of the Company's Lands—High-handed Proceedings of the Dutch—M. Bussy and Colonel Coote—Fall of Pondicherry—Lally's fate.

MEANWHILE, events of moment were going forward in that ancient theatre the Carnatic. In 1757, Captain Calliaud attacked Madura; and the French, by way of retaliation, invested Trichinopoly. This movement had the effect of drawing off the besiegers from Madura for a time. It subsequently fell into English hands, as did also the fortress of Wandiwash. Several other unimportant trials of strength between the European rivals occurred in this region, and formed a fitting prelude to the important events which were about to transpire.

On the outbreak of hostilities between France and England, the French despatched Count de Lally with a considerable armament to uphold the interests of their nation in India. His landing, which took place in the spring of 1758, was the signal for vigorous action. He immediately laid siege to Fort St. David; and, during the progress of operations, an English squadron attacked the French fleet, with a view to preventing the landing of men and stores at Pondicherry. It failed, and the investment of Fort St. David proceeded; its garrison surrendering after a few weeks' investment.

It was now fully expected that Madras, the seat of government, would be the next object of Lally's attack; and, accordingly, every exertion was made in anticipation of the movement. For the present, however, it seemed

this important place was to remain unmolested. It appeared that the French commander was in want of necessary funds, to obtain which he now made attacks on Tanjore and Arcot. These expeditions, although they did little towards replenishing his treasury, served to establish his reputation as one of the most tyrannical of European governors. At length the threatened attack on Madras was nigh; and, in the middle of December, Lally sat down before its walls with a force of 10,000 men. At first his efforts were successful; for the garrison, hard pressed, seemed upon the point of surrender; but, an English fleet arriving in the Roads, all hopes of reducing the place disappeared; and, retreating with precipitation, he left his artillery and ammunition as spoils to the garrison (1759).

The ill success attending French arms was not confined to the Carnatic. Either with a view of strengthening his own position, or jealous because of the success of Bussy, M. Lally proceeded to recall that general, and to give the command to the Marquise de Conflans. Bussy, it will be remembered, had, after his quarrel with Salabat Jung, taken possession of Hyderabad, whence he removed into the Northern Circars. Here he was called upon to render assistance to Salabat in his struggles with his rebel brothers, Nizam Ally and Basalat Jung. His efforts in his *protégé's* behalf were everywhere successful. He had got possession of Dowlatabad, one of the strongest fortresses in India, and had therefore secured a vantage-ground whence he might disseminate French influence. It was at this juncture that he was recalled. He had no sooner obeyed than the unwisdom of the step became evident. The rajah of Vizagapatam first made insurrection against the French, and then applied to Clive to assist him in driving them from the Northern Circars. Clive, nothing loth, as quickly as possible sent forward Colonel Forde, who overthrew Conflans at Rajahmundry. He signally defeated him, and then set out to besiege Masulipatam.

Here his success seemed likely to end, for the French commander had communicated with Salabat Jung; and that prince was known to be on the march with a considerable force. And, to add to his perplexity, a spirit of insubordination had shown itself in his camp. Nothing daunted, however, he quickly allayed all discontent; and, having completed his arrangements, stormed and carried the place in a most gallant manner. Salabat Jung lost all confidence in his French allies after this occurrence, and began to make overtures to the English. A treaty was concluded between him and Forde, by which Masulipatam was ceded to the English, and the French forbidden to possess any settlement to the north of the Kistna. Thus the power of France in the Deccan was broken beyond repair.

The defeat of Suraj-ud-Dowlah at Plassey, it will be remembered, had occasioned a revolution in Bengal; Meer Jaffier, having been by reason of it elevated to the throne of that province. Had this prince exhibited qualities which could have justified the change, all might have been well. Unfortunately, however, for the peace of the land, Meer Jaffier was of a weak and wavering character. His imprudence soon drove his subjects into rebellion; and the good offices of Clive were solicited to save him from the consequences of his own foolish government. To add to his embarrassment, an attack by the nabob of Allahabad, aided by a French contingent, seemed imminent; while the Mahrattas were pressing him for certain grants which had been promised them.

Clive advanced to Moorshedabad, effected a reconciliation between the soubadah and his rebellious subjects, and prepared to try conclusions with his foreign enemies, who, having by this time advanced to Patna, had laid siege to it. The confederates, however, withdrew upon the approach of a relieving force; and Meer Jaffier was thus delivered from the dangers that had surrounded him. The soubadah showed his gratitude to his benefactor by endowing him with the quit-rents of the territory occupied by the English within his dominion; and em-

ployed his interest with the Mogul to procure for him the title of an *omrah* or noble of the empire, with three lacs of rupees yearly for the support of the dignity.

But Clive's occupation was not yet gone; for a danger now threatened English interests in Bengal. The French had been driven from the province; but the English had other rivals there in the Dutch, who possessed a settlement at Chinsura on the Hooghley, not far from Calcutta. A powerful fleet of theirs had entered the river; and there was every reason to believe that an understanding existed between them and Meer Jaffier inimical to English interests. Fearing a surprise, Clive began to make preparations; carefully abstaining from any act of unfriendliness. Although, however, there was peace at the time between the two countries, the Dutch threw down the gauntlet of war by seizing some of the company's vessels, and burning their depôt at Fulta. Clive was equal to the emergency. He despatched thither Commodore Wilson, who captured their fleet; while their land-force, attacked by Colonel Forde, was entirely overthrown. This two-fold victory induced the Dutch to consent to a treaty by which a very limited number of Europeans was allowed within the province, and this merely for the purpose of protecting their commercial interests.

After his repulse from before Madras, Lally retired to Arcot, there to await those reinforcements from home of which he had been in daily expectation. The French fleet sustained a defeat off Trincomalee by Admiral Pococke, who, however, could not prevent the escape of some of his enemy's vessels; and Lally thereby received reinforcements to the extent of 500 Europeans, together with a considerable sum of money. Even this addition to his treasury was not sufficient to meet his necessities. His men were clamorous for pay; and when, finally, M. Bussy quitted the camp upon an errand to the Deccan, they broke out into open mutiny. This circumstance determined him to divide his forces, one half of which he

sent southward. It was a false move, and advantage was at once taken of it; for Colonel Coote, who was then at Madras, advanced to attack it. After some desultory movements, the rival armies met near Wandiwash, an important position, for the possession of which many a gallant struggle had already taken place. The action was a severe one, for the combatants were pretty equally balanced. The fortunes of the day, however, remained with the English, who slew 600 of their enemy, and took M. Bussy prisoner.

This victory opened for Coote the road to Arcot, whither he now advanced to try conclusions with Lally himself. Arcot quickly fell; and soon Pondicherry was the only French possession on the Carnatic coast. This important station was now invested. Lally was by this time reduced to the most desperate straits. He stood greatly in need of reinforcements, and had little hope of receiving any by reason of the presence of a powerful British squadron. In this dilemma he was constrained to look for native help. He thought of Hyder Ally of Mysore, and commenced negotiations with him. They, however, came to nothing; and, as the English had commenced the siege, he had no alternative but to rely upon his own garrison.

His first measure was to rid himself of the useless mouths within the city; and, accordingly, 1400 of the natives were driven into the open country to shift for themselves. Lally held out so long as the supplies lasted; but at length, when all was ready for the assault, a flag of truce was sent into the English camp. The envoys had been despatched to propose terms of surrender. Coote would agree to no conditions whatever; and the garrison of Pondicherry, with its vast stores of artillery and ammunition, capitulated. The walls were quickly demolished; and the last vestige of French dominion in India was thus obliterated. Lally's fate was a stern one. Hooted out of the fort by his own men, he was carried back to France, where he was tried, condemned, and guillotined, in obedience to the demands of his exasperated fellow-countrymen.

CHAPTER X.

EVENTS IN BENGAL.—(*continued.*)

Movements of Shah Allum—Deposition of Meer Jaffier, and Elevation of Meer Cossim—Treaty with Shah Allum—Inimical Proceedings of Meer Cossim—Meer Jaffier Reinstated—Battle of Buxar—"Return of the Nabobs"—Nujum-ud-Dowlah succeeds Meer Jaffier—Clive's Third Visit to India—His Mission—The English become virtual Rulers of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa—Mutinous Spirit among English Troops—Outcry in England Against the Company's Government—Clive accused—His End—Character.

IN 1760, Clive, whose constitution had suffered considerably from the effects of climate, labour, and anxiety, returned to England. His place was filled for a time by Mr. Holwell; and he in turn was succeeded by Mr. Vansittart, a gentleman who had received instructions to pursue a policy now for some time in contemplation, namely—the deposition of Meer Jaffier, and the appointment of Meer Cossim, his son-in-law, in his stead. Their schemes, however, were for a time interrupted by the proceedings of Shah Allum, who, upon the murder of his father, Alumgeer, had succeeded to the now phantom throne of Delhi. This prince was at the time marching on Bengal, with a view to its recovery as a dependency of the court of Delhi; and in this expedition he was aided by the viceroy of Oude. He first advanced to attack Patna; but in this design he was thwarted by Captain Calliaud, and the nabob's son, and chief counsellor, Meerun. He therefore withdrew into Bengal, and made for Moorshedabad; but the city was too strong to fear him, and, as Calliaud still hung closely on his rear, he returned to Patna once more; and, in concert with a

French column, attempted its reduction. Through the celerity of Captain Knox's movements he was again foiled; and he retreated with precipitation from before its walls.

Shah Allum being thus disposed of, the scheme for the deposition of Meer Jaffier proceeded. The condition of the nabob's affairs favoured the furtherance of it. Disaffection was rife throughout the province; and when, by the untimely death of Meerum, he was deprived of his right hand, the troops mutinied; and, but for the exertions of Meer Cossim, would have put him to death. A fate such at this, perhaps, would have been more welcome than that which was to follow; for Meer Jaffier, with all his failings, was of an extremely proud and sensitive nature; and the indignity to which he was about to be subjected must have been gall and wormwood to him. Having arranged their plans, the nabob, to his surprise, was ordered to place the management of his exchequer in the hands of Meer Cossim. This he indignantly refused to do, choosing rather to renounce his royal authority, and to withdraw to the retirement of private life.

This treatment of Meer Jaffier has ever been regarded as a shameful piece of business. His administration, it is true, had been anything but satisfactory; and the company had ample reason to regret the share they had had in his elevation to the nabobship; neither is there any room to doubt that the interests of the Company were jeopardized by his bad government; but subsequent proceedings render it difficult to believe that the parties concerned in the plot were animated by these considerations alone. The Company, indeed, was rewarded by a cession of the districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, together with a pecuniary grant towards the expenses incurred during the war in the Carnatic. Unfortunately, however, for the plea of duty and disinterestedness, Mr. Holwell, Mr. Vansittart, and other officers, received ample shares from the treasury of the deposed ruler; and the entire affair is surrounded by an atmosphere of selfishness which has never yet been dispelled.

In the words of a writer of the present day, "it seems only surprising, if the council desired a change, that they did not espouse the just cause of the emperor, with whom they might have made their own terms, and obtained more favourable and more extensive grants than they exacted from Meer Cossim."

Shah Allum had not yet abandoned his design upon Bengal and its neighbouring provinces; and, encouraged by the condition of affairs there, he shunned his capital, and hung upon the skirts of the provinces in order to be ready to take advantage of any circumstance which might afford him a prospect of success. That opportunity by-and-bye presented itself; but not till after he had received a smart check at the hands of Major Carnac in an action wherein his French allies were made prisoners. Having gained this advantage over Shah Allum, the Company were in a position to treat with him; and Carnac was accordingly despatched on this errand. The emperor was invited to Patna, and there treated with imperial respect; and the result of the negotiation was, that he was to receive annually a nominal tribute—the company being invested with the command of the financial concerns of the province.

It was not long before the company had cause to regret the removal of Meer Jaffier; for, contrary to their expectations, Meer Cossim proved a far more formidable obstacle to their progress than ever his predecessor had been. The treasury of the province was exhausted, the demands upon it were pressing; and there was no alternative left the new nabob but to have recourse to exactions from his wealthy subjects. Among these was one Ram Narrain, the Hindu governor of Patna, a faithful friend of the English, and one whom the company were bound to protect. From some cause or other they neglected to fulfil this obligation, and the man was despoiled in a most shameful manner.

The circumstance was of considerable moment, inasmuch as it caused the English to lose in the estimation of the natives, and to encourage the nabob to the further

exercise of his own authority. He went so far, indeed, as to contemplate a severance from his English patrons; and to this end he removed from Moorshedabad to Mongheer, where he might in secret make preparations; for he knew that his scheme would necessitate a struggle. He took some skilful men into his employ, and by their aid he presently found himself in possession of a considerable quantity of military stores. In due time he opened the question by depriving the English of certain trading privileges, and seized some boats laden with English goods; and when remonstrances were made, he forthwith gave orders for the apprehension of all Englishmen within his dominions.

The quarrel had now commenced in earnest. The English at once recalled the deposed Meer Jaffier from the obscurity to which he had been relegated; and, reinvesting him with the title of nabob, set out with him for Moorshedabad. The forces of Meer Cossim were well disciplined and well armed; but they were worsted in several actions; and, enraged at his failure, he gave orders for the slaughter of his English prisoners. His forces, meanwhile, had again rallied, and once more he decided upon trying the fortunes of battle with his enemy. He was, however, overthrown, and his new capital fell into the hands of the English. An attempt was subsequently made upon Patna, in conjunction with the vizier of Oude. It failed, and the hostile forces met soon after in deadly conflict upon the field of Buxar. Notwithstanding a serious mutiny of Sepoy troops, which threatened at one time to disconcert the English plans, Sir Hector Munro was able to administer to his adversary a defeat so conclusive that the whole of Bengal fell into the hands of the company. The pride of the vizier of Oude was humbled; and the emperor was forced to crave the protection of the English. The hero of the campaign, Sir Hector Munro, resigned his command soon after the victory of Buxar.

The parties in authority were determined to make the best of the advantage their troops had gained for them;

and the company was accordingly compelled to scatter gold broadcast—no less than sixty millions being received in payment of individual claims. Many of the recipients, enriched beyond measure, relinquished their offices, and returned to England to enjoy the fruits of their shameful extortions. The “return of the nabobs,” as it is termed, is one of the greatest scandals of the age. The company, be it remembered, gained but little by these transactions; and, while the conduct of their officials must ever remain a lasting reproach to them, it was rather the result of a lax supervision than a wilful disregard of the calls of justice. Indeed they themselves were sufferers; for, not only were they powerless to curb the excesses of their servants, but they had likewise the mortification of seeing their trade crippled by the private ventures of their unruly *employés*.

Meer Jaffier was now dead; and his imbecile son, Nujum-ud-Dowlah, placed upon the throne, was a mere puppet in the hands of his English supporters. The affairs of Bengal were in a most unsatisfactory condition; and Clive, having made his mark as a man of far-seeing policy and inflexible purpose, despite the bitter opposition of many and powerful enemies, was sent (1765) to effect a reformation in the company's affairs in this province. He was specially instructed to curb the insolence of their servants, who were fast becoming a power in Bengal. He came provided with the draft of a new covenant to be subscribed by them; and he now insisted that every individual concerned should consent to obey its clauses under pain of instant dismissal. Private trading was at once abolished—a monopoly being granted to the company of the most important items of Indian commerce; while the revenues derived from customs contributed by the natives were henceforth to find their way into the company's treasury at Calcutta.

The political affairs of the province received similar attention at his hands. The vizier, notwithstanding his defeat at Buxar, managed for a time to give trouble; but having, with his allies the Rohillas, sustained a severe

defeat at the hands of General Carnac, his submission was now complete. Relieved of all fear from this quarter, Clive was at liberty to enter into negotiations with the court of Delhi. The emperor was induced to resign the management of the revenues to the English—a privilege which made them virtual rulers of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; for the poor imbecile nabob, Nujum-ud-Dowlah, had no power to raise a voice against this interference with his authority. This concession, together with a grant of certain rights over the Northern Circars, enabled the company to carry out their new commercial regulations with greater facility.

Clive now turned his attention to the army; and if the adjustment of the commercial affairs was difficult, this reform in military matters was a still more perplexing business, inasmuch as the position of the English in India might easily be endangered by any false movement. But Clive was equal to the accomplishment of this as of every other task he set his hand to. He began by issuing regulations with regard to pay—a step which had the effect of sensibly curtailing the salaries both of officers and men. The scheme trenched upon a privilege which had been granted by Meer Jaffier, and a mutinous spirit was at once engendered. The officers memorialised the author of it, and appeared in arms to support their application. It was only by Clive's marvellous firmness, and the fidelity of the Sepoy regiments that serious consequences were averted. The suppression of this outbreak without bloodshed, and with such apparently inadequate means, has been regarded as the most brilliant transaction of his career.

Clive would fain have lingered upon the theatre of his great military and civil exploits; but the climate was too much for his constitution; and, with regret, he set sail for England within a year of his landing in India. The pecuniary affairs of the Company, notwithstanding their privileges and their territorial acquisitions, were in a most unsatisfactory condition. The revenues of the provinces ought to have been sufficient to secure them ample

means; the imposts, however, were so badly collected, and speculation was carried on to so enormous an extent, that a deficit stood always in the place of a dividend. In this dilemma an appeal was made to government for a loan; and Parliament was convened unusually early to consider the application. The matter was referred to a select committee; and the gross mismanagement of the company's concerns was so patent that the ministry of Lord North determined to legislate on the subject; and a new bill was introduced which was to create a thorough revolution in Indian affairs. The company protested against the proceedings as an infraction of the terms of their charter; but public opinion was so strongly in favour of reform, that they had no alternative but to submit. A royal court was established by Act of Parliament for the Bengal province, with a governor-general, who was to be subject to the ministry, at its head. The bill became law in 1773. It was about the same time, too, that Colonel Burgoyne brought forward his accusation against Clive touching the matter of the deposition and death of Suraj-ud-Dowlah.

From the time of his setting foot in England this great, though sometimes erring man, had had to encounter the unrelenting enmity of his enemies; but this was the first *specific* accusation made against him. The gist of the charge was that he had "abused the powers with which he was entrusted, to the evil example of servants of the company, and to the dishonour and detriment of the state;" and this celebrated man, whose wisdom had done so much to make his country great, was forced to defend his acts in the most public assembly in the world, and against some of the most eloquent declaimers of the age. Under the many and varied temptations with which his position was surrounded, he may not quite have forgotten self; but while, in seaman's parlance, he had given *one hand* to his employers, it is questionable whether, in view of the enormous wealth that lay within his grasp, his own share, magnificent as it undoubtedly was, could be represented by more than *a finger*; and posterity, surrounded by a

calmer atmosphere, has been inclined to condone his faults in the magnitude of his services, and, with him, "to wonder at his moderation." He was acquitted: but the treatment to which he had been subjected proved too much for a system already enfeebled by disease; and he perished, Nov. 1774, by his own hand. With his death, one of the greatest names—indeed the greatest name—in Indian history, vanishes from the scene.

"In the awful close of so much prosperity and glory," says Macaulay, "the vulgar saw only a confirmation of all their prejudices; and some men of real piety and genius so far forgot the maxims both of religion and of philosophy as confidently to ascribe the mournful event to the just vengeance of God, and to the horrors of an evil conscience. It is with very different feelings that we contemplate the spectacle of a great mind ruined by the weariness of satiety, by the pangs of wounded honour, by fatal diseases, and more fatal remedies."

CHAPTER XL

EVENTS IN MADRAS.

Nizam Ally—Hyder Ally—Hyder becomes Soubadah or Nizam of the Deccan—Struggles for Possession of the Northern Circars—Nizam Ally refuses to give up the Province to the English—Alliance between Nizam Ally and Hyder—The Confederates worsted—The British obtain Possession of the Circars—Hyder's Indignation—His Success—Overtures to the French—Further Successes of Hyder—Treaty with Hyder—Hyder forsaken by his new Allies.

WHILE events were thus progressing in Bengal, circumstances of equally momentous character were enacting in other parts of the peninsula. Two characters at this time come prominently into notice, namely, Nizam Ally and Hyder Ally, of whom it is necessary here, to the proper understanding of the position of affairs, to say a few words.

The name of Nizam Ally occurs in a former chapter. Led on by an overweening ambition this prince had, in conjunction with his brother, Basalat Jung, wrested all authority from Salabat Jung, soubadah or nizam of the Deccan; and the good offices of M. Bussy, it will be remembered, had been solicited for the purpose of setting matters right. On this occasion the usurper was induced to resign the great seal, and to accept the government of Hyderabad. Here, having devised a plot for the assassination of the soubadah, he was compelled, upon its discovery, to flee for his life. By-and-bye, he became powerful enough to renew his seditious schemes. Defeating the soubadah's forces under Janoojee Bhoslay, he regained possession of Hyderabad, and from this vantage ground he forced the soubadah to replace him in the

position he had before occupied. He subsequently took part in the nizam's wars with the Mahrattas, and was so successful as to recover the territories which this people had captured. Flushed with this success he now proceeded to put into practice the scheme which he had so long contemplated; so, dethroning his brother, he put him to death, and declared himself soubadah of the Deccan.

Hyder Ally, one of the most remarkable men India ever produced, was the son of a chieftain of low position, and a Mohammedan. His great talent and conspicuous bravery had brought him under the notice of the Mysorean court; and, notwithstanding the disadvantage under which he laboured by reason of his religion, he had been invested with the proud title of general-in-chief of the Mysorean forces. In 1753, the Mahrattas invaded the country for the purpose of enforcing the payment of *chouth*, as it was termed, that is, one-fourth of the produce of the land, which had been granted them in times gone by; and Hyder took the field against them. He was eminently successful; and when he had rid the country of these invaders, he employed his military talents in reducing and plundering various small states, thereby considerably extending the territory of his sovereign the rajah. These successes gained him immense advantage; and he was able shortly to remove the first minister, and to take his place. This was an ungrateful act; for he had been his greatest friend at court; and it was his influence alone that had secured him the due reward of his talent; for the rajah, a weak-minded prince, had surrendered himself completely to his will. But gratitude seldom bars the way of ambition; and this, the ruling passion of Hyder, was further to betray itself in the deposition of the rajah himself, and his seizure of the vacant throne.

At the period we are considering, then, Hyder Ally was rajah of Mysore, and Nizam Ally soubadah or nizam of the Deccan. Events were now about to happen which were to bring these sovereigns into collision with

our countrymen, and to initiate in the one case a struggle, which, considering its arduous character, its length, and its many vicissitudes, has scarcely a parallel in the annals of the country.

The struggle was occasioned, in the first place, by a dispute respecting the Northern Circars, a province lying between Orissa and the sea. The value of this territory to the Bengal council had long been apparent; and the authorities there had done their utmost to get possession of it. This province had originally been granted by Salabat Jung to M. Bussy by way of reward for services performed in his behalf. It had more recently been made over to the English by the emperor; but, as at the time of transfer it was in the possession of the nizam, who was independent of the court of Delhi, the gift was little more than nominal.

Nizam Ally, now called upon to execute the imperial will, gave an uncompromising refusal. An accommodation was, however, effected, and for a time the matter dropped. It was, by-and-bye, discovered that the nizam was carrying on an intrigue with Hyder Ally; and their forces were by agreement united for the purpose of coercing the English. Together they mustered a formidable array; and, when eventually they encountered Colonel Smith, who had been sent with a force of 7000 men to operate against them, the advantage of the contest lay with them. The English commander, however, having rallied under the walls of Trincomalee, the tide of success was turned, and they were overthrown with considerable loss. This victory was so decisive that Hyder's son, Tippoo, immediately retreated from before Madras, to which town he had laid siege; and the confederates, being subsequently defeated in several minor engagements, Nizam Ally soon became weary of the contest, and entered into negotiations with the English commander.

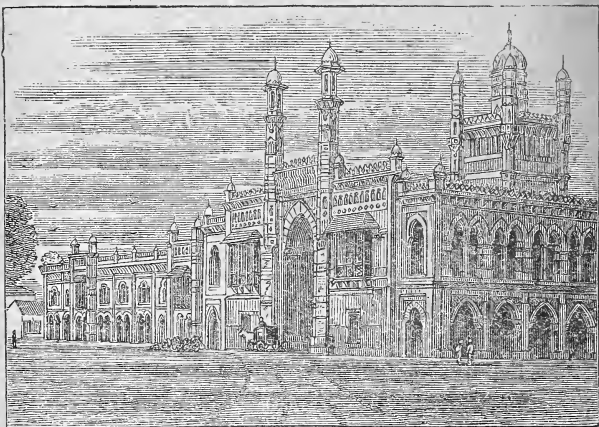
Altogether, he had good reason for taking this step; for, to increase his embarrassment, an army had entered the Deccan from Bengal, and was already within a short

distance of Hyderabad, his capital. The terms of treaty were less favourable to the English than might have been expected, considering their success in the field. Possession of the Circars, with the exception of the district of Guntoor, was guaranteed to the English; and an offensive alliance between the contracting parties was entered into against Hyder Ally, who was forthwith proclaimed a usurper, and his dominions declared forfeited.

Now, it was a very easy matter to denounce their enemy; it was, however, quite another to depose him; and this the new allies soon found to their cost. The court of directors, whose views were adverse to an extension of territory, were by no means pleased with the offensive alliance their servants had contracted with the nizâm. But it was too late to recede. The proud spirit of Hyder had been thoroughly roused by the indignity; and he was as anxious as he was prepared to resent it. He commenced proceedings by advancing against Bangalore; and, having captured it, he raised funds by means of the ransom demanded for the release of his numerous prisoners. The conduct of the war against Hyder was committed to Colonels Smith and Wood, who commenced operations in June 1768. The campaign opened favourably for the English; and Hyder, fearing lest the Mahrattas should join his enemies, made overtures for peace. But the Madras council would not be satisfied with Hyder's proposals. Negotiations were therefore broken off, and the contest reopened in earnest.

The progress of the war showed that the Madras authorities had most seriously underrated the ability and resources of their adversary, who, after having defeated Colonel Wood at Oosoor, and recovered the fortresses of which he had been earlier deprived, was on his way to Madras itself. So little prepared was the garrison for defence, that the council had no alternative but to treat with their triumphant enemy. There was, fortunately, little difficulty in opening negotiations; for the Mahrattas seemed upon the point of casting in their lot with Hyder's enemies; and Hyder, as skilful a politician as soldier.

was not so presumptuous as to hope for success against such a combination. If Hyder hated the English, he thoroughly despised the Mahrattas, and this he made no attempt to conceal. The business, however, was badly managed; and Hyder, annoyed at certain unfair treatment to which he had been subjected, struck southward—his head filled with another and a grander scheme.



CHEPANK PALACE, MADRAS.

The peace of Fontainebleau, which, in 1763, closed the Seven Years' War in Europe, had restored to the French their lost possessions in India. They had, accordingly, notwithstanding the protests of Clive and others, once more gained a footing in the peninsula; and Pondicherry, as of yore, was their head settlement. To M. Law, the French governor, Hyder now began to make overtures. Hyder, however, was not the man to place too firm a reliance upon allies; and he sought, therefore, to anticipate the advantages of a French alliance by giving his enemies no rest. By skilful manœuvring he drew Colonel Smith from the neighbourhood of Madras; and, after leading him a perplexing chase, arrived at St. Thomé, a few miles from that city. The consternation within its walls was great, for the garrison had been despatched to

operate against Hyder in the open country. The place, however, was spared the humiliation of surrender; for Hyder, contrary to all expectations, once more offered to negotiate.

A treaty was concluded upon the basis of a mutual restitution of conquests, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, between the covenanting parties. The entire affair had been most disastrous to the English; who, in addition to a considerable pecuniary loss, had fallen materially in the estimation of the natives. And thus ended the second conflict with Hyder Ally. The treaty, in one of its provisions, was violated by the English shortly afterwards. No sooner were the terms of it ratified than Hyder, flushed with success, commenced war on the Mahrattas; and in this undertaking he was so thoroughly unfortunate that he was constrained to call upon the English to fulfil their engagement by sending him an English brigade. The Madras authorities were willing enough to do this; but their hands were now tied by the presence of an envoy from England, who forbade further hostilities. Hyder, thus abandoned by the English, was miserably despoiled by his enemy. He never forgave the perfidy, and, as he termed it, cowardice of his English allies.

W. L. G. Smith

CHAPTER XII.

ADMINISTRATION OF WARREN HASTINGS.

Conspiracies—Disappointment of the Emperor—Departure of the Mahrattas from the Doab—Betrayal of the Rohillas by the English—Withdrawal of the Emperor's Pension—Arrival of the Members of Council—Rearrangement with the Vizier—Accusations against Hastings—Execution of Nuncomar.

WARREN HASTINGS entered upon his office as governor-general of Bengal in 1772. Events of great moment had of late transpired in different corners of the peninsula, which furnished him with abundant employment. The great interest of this period seemed to centre upon Oude, where the game of plot and counterplot was proceeding with unflagging zeal; the emperor, the vizier, the English, the Mahrattas, and Rohillas, vying with each other in the exhibition of their skill at chicanery and double-dealing.

The Mahrattas, as was previously stated, had become a formidable power in Northern India; and the estimation in which they were held is exhibited in the overtures so often made by neighbouring states for their alliance. After the defeat of the confederates at Buxar in 1764, it will be remembered, Shah Allum, the titular emperor of Delhi, had ceded to the English the *dewany* or collectorship of the revenues of Bengal and the neighbouring provinces; and had received in return two small districts in the province of Oude. He had hoped that the English, to whom he had behaved so liberally, would have aided him, when opportunity should serve, in securing for him the substance as well as the shadow of dominion by placing him upon the throne of Delhi. By-and-bye, disap-

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1755

pointed in his hopes of English support, he turned to the Mahrattas, who, obedient to the call, overran Rohilcund, took possession of Delhi, and, inviting him thither, established him upon the throne of his ancestors with all due ceremony. He soon, however, grew weary of the exactions of his benefactors, and was not slow in attempting to rid himself of their presence. In this he failed, and was compelled to purchase their forbearance by a present of the districts of Allahabad and Corah; of which, however, they were unable to gain possession, inasmuch as they were held by an English army.

Meanwhile, the Mahrattas were carrying on an intrigue with the vizier of Oude and his Afghan neighbours the Rohillas. These latter, having gained possession of the Doab, a district situated between the Ganges and Jumna, suffered materially from the presence of the Mahrattas. Anxious to get rid of such undesirable neighbours, they determined to ally themselves with the vizier. Now, the vizier was ready to give his support to either party; for he envied the one, and hated both. This alliance, together with the death of the peshwa, Mahdoo Rao, brought the Mahrattas to terms, and they shortly after withdrew.

The Rohillas, however, were no gainers by their departure; for the vizier had long had an eye upon their territory; and there was nothing now to prevent his effecting its annexation beyond the opposition of the English. Even this difficulty was eventually removed; for Hastings, in consideration of the promise of forty lacs, both sanctioned the undertaking, and assisted in it. Rohilcund was invaded, and its defenders, after a brave resistance, overpowered, and treated with the utmost barbarity. In the words of Macaulay: "The horrors of Indian war were let loose on the fair valleys and cities of Rohilcund. The whole country was in a blaze. More than a hundred thousand people fled from their homes to pestilential jungles, preferring famine and fever, and the haunts of tigers, to the tyranny of him to whom an English and a Christian government had, for shameful lucre, sold their

substance, and their blood, and the honour of their wives and daughters.

"The finest population in India was subjected to a greedy, cowardly, cruel tyrant. Commerce and agriculture languished. The rich province which had tempted the cupidity of Sujah Dowlah became the most miserable part even of his miserable dominions. Yet is the injured nation not extinct. At long intervals gleams of its ancient spirit have flashed forth; and, even at this day, valour, and self-respect, and a chivalrous feeling rare among Asiatics, and a bitter remembrance of the great crime of England, distinguish that noble Afghan race." It is regarded on all hands as a treacherous and shameful deed; for the Rohillas had ever been well disposed towards the English; and it was, in the sequel, productive of most unpleasant consequences.

The alliance into which the emperor had entered with the Mahrattas at this time gave Hastings the pretext for withholding the pension which Clive had granted him in lieu of the revenues of Bengal. Both proceedings have been much commented upon. The only excuse to be offered is that of expediency. Hastings feared, or affected to fear, it seems, an offensive alliance with the Mahrattas against English influence in these quarters; and he therefore considered himself bound, in the interest of his employers, to adopt the best means at his command to secure the integrity of British territory. Whether these means were absolutely necessary or not must, notwithstanding the verdict of the highest tribunal of the land, remain a matter of opinion.

Whatever we may think of the political honesty of Hastings, we cannot but admire his genius, neither can we withhold from him credit for the service he rendered his employers. The finances of the company had materially improved under the vigorous administration of the governor. When he entered upon the duties of office the company was miserably in arrears, and its credit endangered. He had not been at the head of affairs more than a couple of years before its debts were liqui-

dated, and its credit restored. However, therefore, we may deplore the means adopted, we cannot but pay tribute to his zeal as a public servant, and his ability as an administrator.

Hitherto, Hastings had carried on the affairs of India unfettered. In the year 1774, the appointed members of council arrived from England. Their landing upon Indian soil portended troublous times. It would appear, indeed, as if the members of it had been selected on account of their enmity to the governor; for of the four councillors chosen, one only, Mr. Barwell, sided with him, the three others being invariably inimical. Disputes at the council board were of almost daily occurrence; and so violent and persistent was the opposition to the governor that he is said to have tendered his resignation to the company. The Company, however, knowing his value, refused to accept it; and as Hastings had reason to regret the rashness which led him to take the step, he retained his position.

The earliest measure of importance enacted by the new council was an alteration of the treaty made between the English and the vizier. Sujah-ud-Dowlah, with whom the bond had been formed, was dead; and the reins of government were in the hands of his son, Asof-ud-Dowlah. Him they caused to abrogate the treaty, by which it had been agreed to cede the provinces of Allahabad and Corah to the Mahrattas; to make over the sacred city of Benares, with the district around it belonging to Cheyte Singh, to the English; and to promise an increase of the subsidy to their troops. The new vizier, however, through the subsequent action of the council, was deprived of the power to fulfil these new obligations; for they had supported the claims of the Begums (the mother and wife of the late nabob, the latter being the present nabob's mother) to the treasures of the deceased vizier, whereby his exchequer was seriously impoverished. His inability to meet his pecuniary engagements gave rise to a dangerous mutiny among the troops, the effects of which were felt in Oude and Bahar; and the life of Hastings was at one time in

imminent peril. Petitions innumerable were presented against him, and he was accused of accepting bribes from the Begums. The accusation was not substantiated; and his accuser, Nuncomar, had to stand a trial for forgery. He was found guilty, and condemned to death.

The accusations of Nuncomar, whether false or true, were preferred rather in a spirit of malevolence than of honest desire to compass the ends of justice. He had, during the time of Clive, been disappointed of the native government of Bengal, for which high office he had competed with Mahomet Reza Khan. An intriguing and unscrupulous man, he had endeavoured, by every possible means, to blacken the character of his rival, and thus procure his overthrow. He was so far successful that the Mussulman administrator was arrested and placed in confinement. The accusations of Nuncomar were not considered sufficient by Hastings to establish the imprisoned governor's guilt; and, to the chagrin of his enemy, he was acquitted.

From that time forward Hastings had no more inveterate enemy than Nuncomar; and when, at length, the unpopularity of the governor presented him with a favourable opportunity for gratifying his malignant passion, he came forward with a string of the most serious charges against him. At first his triumph appeared complete. The majority of the council were in his favour; the outcry in London was loud against his enemy; and some of the wealthiest men of the province not only supported his accusations, but brought forward charges of a similar nature.

The great administrator, though astounded at the array his enemies had marshalled against him, was by no means disconcerted. With characteristic boldness he procured the arrest of Nuncomar, who, to the surprise of every one, was brought to trial upon a charge of forgery. He was condemned; and sentence of death was passed upon him by the chief-justice, Sir Elijah Impey.

The most strenuous exertions were of course made by Nuncomar's supporters to bring about a respite; but the

chief-justice was inexorable; and Nuncomar, the head of the Brahminical race and religion, was brought out to die a felon's death upon the scaffold. His conduct, magnanimous in the highest degree, redeems in a measure his sinful life. "Not a muscle of his face moved," says Macaulay. "Not a sigh broke from him. He put his finger to his forehead, and calmly said that fate would have its way, and that there was no resisting the pleasure of God. . . . The moment that the drop fell a howl of sorrow and despair rose from the innumerable spectators. Hundreds turned their faces from the polluting sight, fled with loud wailings towards the Hooghley, and plunged into its holy waters, as if to purify themselves from the guilt of having looked on such a crime." It had been in the power of Hastings to rescue this man from the consequences of his condemnation. He made no attempt to do so; and the odium attaches to him of having employed the judge—his fast friend—in furthering his malicious ends. His connection with this transaction formed one of the articles of his memorable impeachment.

CHAPTER XIII.

FIRST MAHRATTA WAR.

Ambitious Schemes of Rughoba—Forms an Alliance with the English—Capture of Bassein by the English—Negotiations with the Mahratta Ministry—Conclusion of a Treaty—The Treaty abrogated by the Bombay Council—Colonel Goddard's Famous March—Successes of the English—Treaty of Bassein, and Termination of the War.

IT WILL be remembered that, during the Mahratta occupation of the Doab, the peshwa, Mahdoo Rao, died. The event caused much confusion in the Mahratta state; and the newly appointed peshwa fell a victim to the arts of Rughoba, his uncle. This man now assumed the duties of government; but he considered his tenure to be so insecure that he entered into negotiation with Hyder Ally with the view of securing his support. So far, however, from gaining by this step, his influence at once began to wane; and the posthumous infant of Mahdoo Rao received the due homage of his people. He now sought new alliances, and made overtures first to Holkar and Sindia, two Mahratta chieftains famous in Indian story, and then to the English government at Bombay.

The advances of Rughoba were highly acceptable to the English, for they were then contemplating a scheme which the good will of Rughoba, as head of the Mahratta state, would materially assist them to accomplish. Salsette, in the harbour of Bombay, the island on which the town is situated, was at the time in the hands of the Mahrattas; and it was known to the authorities of Bombay that the Portuguese, to whom it had originally belonged, were bent on attempting its recovery. The

now required, as the price of their aid, the island to them, together with Bassein and places in its vicinity. Rughoba refused at first to make any such grant; but, at length, alarmed at the defection of Sindia and Holkar, he ultimately agreed to the terms proposed. The aid of the English was therefore promised. In the meantime Rughoba's assent had been forestalled; for, in spite of the protests of the Portuguese, the forts had been stormed and taken. This alliance with Rughoba originated the long and arduous conflict known as the First Mahratta War (1772.)

The Mahratta state ministers of course viewed this treaty with Rughoba in the light of a declaration of hostilities, and forthwith moved to attack their combined forces. They, however, met with no success; and the cause of Rughoba, supported as it was by British bayonets, looked hopeful enough, when his enemies found an unexpected ally in the Council of Bengal, who, entirely disapproving of the convention, sent an envoy to Poonah, the ministerial capital, to order a suspension of hostilities. The haughtiness of the Mahratta ministers, who demanded the surrender of Rughoba's person, imperilled the success of the negotiations; and their conduct finally, in treating with a French envoy, caused the entire matter to fall through. The negotiations were broken off, and the alliance with Rughoba continued.

The step thus taken by the Mahratta ministry had, of course, given equal offence to the authorities of Calcutta; and the governor at once determined to support the Bombay forces. An expedition was despatched thence to the seat of war under Colonel Leslie; but, owing to the lukewarmness of Rughoba's Mahratta partisans, little progress was made. Meanwhile, the Bombay government itself, which hitherto had been exceedingly dilatory, had bestirred itself, and troops were already on their way towards Poonah. The Mahrattas, however, were in strong force; and their progress was, therefore, necessarily slow. Arrived at Tullegaon, their situation appeared so critical that it was proposed to retreat. It was too late; for,

completely hemmed in by the troops of the enemy at Wurgaom, there was no course left them but to negotiate. The terms were, under the circumstances, highly favourable to the English, who, however, by their failure, lost much of that prestige which was so valuable in these struggles.

The authors of this convention of Wurgaom were dismissed, and the treaty itself ignored by the Bombay council; while the Bengal government were more than ever determined to push forward their scheme of co-operation with their brethren of Bombay. Colonel Leslie was superseded by Colonel Goddard, who now undertook the most interesting march that had as yet been accomplished upon the soil of India. His road lay through a hostile territory; and with great difficulty it was that he made his way, at one time fighting, at another negotiating, until he arrived safely at Surat, three months after his departure from the banks of the Jumna. Hastings had joined with the Bombay council in rejecting the convention of Wurgaom, and a new one was now set on foot; but Nana Furnawees, the Mahratta chief minister, insisted upon the surrender of Rughoba, and the restoration of Salsette to the Portuguese.

Such terms were, of course, inadmissible. Negotiations were consequently discontinued, and preparations made for a renewal of the war. Operations began with the capture of Ahmedabad, when the district of Guzerat was occupied by English troops. The Mahratta leaders, Holkar and Sindia, on their part, took the field with 20,000 men—the latter reluctantly, for he had ever been favourably inclined towards the English. Goddard, the general opposed to them, could make but little impression upon his enemy. Indeed, so hardly pressed were the English troops by the overwhelming numbers of the Mahratta horse, that it was found necessary to open a campaign elsewhere. Captain Popham was accordingly despatched with an army to operate in Bundelcund. The strong fortress of Gwalior fell into his hands; and the campaign, which terminated with its capture, was singu-

larly effective, inasmuch as it caused the withdrawal of the forces of the Mahratta chieftains from Guzerat.

Next year, 1780, Bassein was besieged by the Bombay army; and, after a long investment, this almost impregnable fortress fell. A considerable Mahratta force was about the same time defeated by Colonel Hartley; and the Bengal and Bombay forces, at last united, were ready either for an active prosecution of the war, or to negotiate an advantageous treaty. They rather inclined to the latter course, because war had again broken out between the Madras government and Hyder Ally; and a league between him, Nizam Ally, and the Mahrattas, was an extremely probable event.

Nevertheless the war progressed; for the Bengal government did not care to make advances in the direction of peace, but rather to force their opponents to do so. The contest was marked by many vicissitudes, and the British forces were often so hardly pressed, by reason of the numbers of their enemy, that it required the most skilful generalship to enable them to maintain a position in the field. At length, the action of Sindia relieved the governor from further apprehension of disaster, and at the same time spared him what he would have considered the disgrace of initiating a peace, by entering into negotiations with his opponent, Colonel Muir. Through the good offices of Moodajee Bhoslay, nabob of Berar, whose neutrality had been secured by the payment of thirteen lacs of rupees, a treaty was concluded at Salbye between the English and Sindia, and, through him, with the Mahratta nation, May 1782. This treaty provided a pension for Rughoba, who was permitted to reside where he pleased; while he on his part restored to the English the conquests of Hyder Ally from them and the nabob of Arcot. Altogether this first Mahratta war, though an unfruitful, was a brilliant and honourable one.

CHAPTER XIV

SECOND WAR WITH HYDER ALLY.

Operations of Hyder Ally—His Forces—His Successes. Operations of Colonel Coote—Hyder joined by the French—Sudden death of Hyder; he is succeeded by his son Tippoo—Tippoo deserted by the French makes Peace with the English—Genius displayed by Hastings—Cheyte Singh—Impeachment of Hastings—His Trial and Acquittal—Macaulay's Peroration.

It was intimated in the last chapter that an apprehended alliance between Hyder, the nizam, and the Mahrattas, was among the considerations that induced Hastings to come to terms with his enemies. Hyder had never forgiven the English the evasion of the treaty of Madras. He had, indeed, amply recouped himself for the losses their defection had caused him; for, by a successful warfare with the Mahrattas, he had recovered all he had previously been compelled to cede to them, and had pushed his northern boundary to the banks of the Kistna; whilst the action of the emperor, who, it was believed had made over to him the whole of the Deccan, had driven the nizam to seek alliance with his Mahratta neighbours, and to court the forbearance of Hyder.

To the remembrance of past wrongs was now added the sting of a recent insult. The English had, notwithstanding his remonstrances, wrested Nangore from the Dutch, who held the settlement by a guarantee from him, and had likewise attacked and taken Mahé, the only possession of the French in India. This measure they followed up by assigning, against his will, a body-guard of British soldiers to Basalat Jung, the unruly brother of the nizam.

This latter act drove Hyder and the nizam into alliance, and induced the former to listen to the overtures of the Mahrattas.

But Hyder had done more than contract alliances: he had zealously prepared for war; and he was consequently able to pour 100,000 well provided and well disciplined troops into the field (1780). And now the pet project of years, namely, the destruction of the English power in the Carnatic, the humbling the pride of the Mahrattas, and the extension of the Mysorean dominions to the Vindhya Hills, which must of necessity follow, appeared to him upon the eve of accomplishment.

The Madras government, meanwhile, seemed to be smitten with judicial blindness. Hyder was left totally unopposed; and, amid the smoke of burning villages, he made his way towards the presidency. By-and-bye, the forces at their command were despatched against their formidable adversary; but they were so few, and so badly supported, that they experienced nothing but disaster; and a miserable remnant, indeed, eventually found safety in retreat to St. Thomas's Mount. In this campaign, Sir Hector Munro forfeited the high reputation he had previously gained as a military leader. The Western Carnatic was for the present lost to the English; and Hyder, intoxicated with success, commemorated his achievements by appropriate paintings, which he caused to be placed upon the walls of his palace at Seringapatam.

Hastings, as soon as he heard of the disasters that had befallen the Madras forces, notwithstanding his engagement with the Mahrattas, despatched Colonel Coote with what troops he could spare to co-operate with his countrymen in the Carnatic. Arcot had fallen; but Wandiwash, which had sustained a long and trying siege, still held out, and Coote hastened to its relief. In order to secure sufficient supplies, he had taken up a position upon the coast at Cuddalore; and hither Hyder now marched to attack him. Colonel Coote, on his return to headquarters, attacked Hyder's position, and after an obstinate struggle succeeded in carrying it. Several minor engagements

subsequently took place, notably at Tripasore and Sholinghur, of which Coote, though victorious, was, however unable to reap any advantage, and the campaign of 1781 closed.

War had broken out anew between England and France (1778); and this was the signal for renewed warfare between these nations in India. By the treaty of Fontainebleau, it will be remembered, the French were admitted to Pondicherry and the other settlements of which they had been deprived. They retained possession of them only so long as peace existed between the two countries; for the dissolution of friendly bonds was no sooner known in India than they were quickly deprived of them again. Reinforced from Europe, they now made common cause with Hyder, whose army, under his gallant son Tippoo, had lately gained some advantages over the English. The outlook was now somewhat gloomy for our countrymen; and the horizon was further dimmed by the retirement of the gallant Coote through ill health, and by the ill success of the fleet which had been sent to bar the landing of reinforcements for the French, commanded by the veteran Bussy.

In December 1782, Hyder Ally died somewhat suddenly in camp. He had reached the utmost span allotted to mortals, and now succumbed to the united effects of age, over-exertion, and an enervating malady. The mantle of this, in every way, perhaps, the most remarkable man that India has produced, descended upon his son Tippoo, who ably endeavoured to carry out his father's designs, and pursued an energetic and uncompromising warfare with Hyder's enemies for a weary seventeen years.

The English had now, therefore, to face the army of Mysore and the French forces under M. Bussy; and it was really nothing but their superiority at sea and the brilliant talent of Hastings, that enabled them to withstand such a combination. Tippoo had withdrawn to the Carnatic to be able better to defend his dominions against the Mahrattas, who had now made peace with the

English; and Bussy, receiving no reinforcements seaward, was unable to form a junction with his Mysorean ally. He had taken possession of Cuddalore, of which Hyder had previously deprived the English; and beneath its walls a sanguinary engagement took place between the French forces and those of the English general, Stuart. It is difficult to see what might have been the upshot of the struggle, had not the conclusion of a peace put a summary end to it.

The treaty of Versailles deprived Tippoo of French aid, and the Europeans in his service were withdrawn. He had, however, sufficient self-confidence to induce him to continue the contest single-handed. He had been operating in the west against the Bombay general, Matthews, and with some success, recapturing the fortress of Bednore previously taken by the gallantry of a regiment of Highlanders, and reducing the fortress of Mangalore. He had, notwithstanding, experienced some losses; and, a formidable English army having advanced to the confines of his dominions, he was, by these untoward circumstances, induced to listen to the overtures of Lord Macartney for a truce.

This truce proved to be the preliminary to a peace humiliating to the English, and reflecting the very greatest discredit upon the Maras authorities, who were the managers of it. Every advantage their generals had gained there was foolishly cast to the winds, and they chose to appear as supplicants when they might have negotiated on at least equal terms. The wily Tippoo was not backward in taking advantage of his enemy's pusillanimity. He blazed abroad the triumphant success of his arms, treated the envoys with the utmost disdain, and, affecting to yield to the entreaties of his friends, haughtily granted terms which secured to the English nothing more than the island of Salsette, and the release of their imprisoned countrymen.

The wars with Hyder Ally and Tippoo had therefore seen anything but creditable to British arms. Yet, when we come to consider the varied combinations against us,

and the character of the enemies with whom our countrymen had had to deal, we shall have to wonder that a single British soldier was left alive upon the soil of India. To the far-seeing policy and undaunted energy of Hastings, more than to any other cause, the immunity from such a national calamity is attributable; and we who, as Englishmen, make it our proud boast that the sun never sets upon the empire of our sovereign, will do well to remember the man to whose genius we owe the preservation of this, the brightest jewel in the diadem of England.

The career of this great man was now about to close. He had, previously to the conclusion of the Mysorean war, tendered his resignation; for certain of his acts had been so mercilessly criticised at home, that he was in danger of incurring the disgrace of dismissal. Some of these acts—as the betrayal of the Rohillas, and the judicial murder of Nuncomar, have received special mention; his dealings with Cheyte Singh, and the affair of the Begums, remain to be noticed.

The heavy expenses attending the late wars were extremely embarrassing to the Indian Exchequer; and Hastings had begun to cast about him for means of supply. His eyes turned towards Cheyte Singh, the wealthy Rajah of Benares, and this prince was his first victim. Benares was at this time one of the wealthiest, most populous, and, withal, most sacred of the cities of India. This prosperous place had long been under the rule of a rajah, who, in times gone by, had rendered homage, like the other Hindu princes of the Mohammedan empire, to the Great Mogul. The collapse of the Mohammedan empire left the lords of Benares independent; and, to escape the domination of the Vizier of Oude, they had placed themselves under the protection of the English. The Rajah of Benares henceforth became a vassal of the Bengal government, and engaged to pay an annual tribute of twenty-two lacs into the treasury of Calcutta.

So matters proceeded till the year 1778, when Hastings, having an eye to the excessive wealth of the rajah, called upon him for an additional contribution. Further de-

mands of a similar nature continued to be made, which the rajah paid, though with reluctance. The sums thus demanded, however, were utterly inadequate to meet the needs of the governor, who soon contemplated the confiscation of his entire treasure. To procure the surrender of this, Hastings made such a demand upon the rajah as he could not in honour grant; and, when he refused to comply, the governor ordered him to be arrested and placed in the custody of his sepoy.

These high-handed proceedings roused the hardy subjects of Cheyte Singh to the highest pitch of indignation. A tumult occurred in the streets of Benares, in which the handful of sepoy attendant upon the governor were butchered, and the life of Hastings—who had come to Benares to treat with the rajah—placed in the greatest jeopardy. The insurrection spread for miles round, and the hopes of Cheyte Singh, who during the tumult had escaped confinement, rose so high that he began to talk mighty things. Both he and his supporters, however, had miscalculated the resources of Hastings, whose genius was never more brilliantly displayed than when surrounded by perplexities. With consummate skill he managed to fill the province with troops. The rajah's supporters were put to route, his strongholds taken, and he himself in despair fled from the city. Benares now passed into the hands of the British. The treasure found in the coffers of the deposed rajah did not equal Hastings' expectations; and as, by mistake, a great portion of this was distributed as prize-money, little immediate gain accrued from the proceeding; but Hastings secured thereby an ill name, which, justly or not, will cleave to him for ever.

Hastings' next transaction was with the Begums of Oude, as certain princesses of the vizier's house were named. It has already been remarked that, by the decision of the council, a large portion of the state treasure had been reserved for their independent use; and Hastings now, actuated by the same motive that had led him to despoil the Rajah of Benares, entered into a compact

with Asuf-ud-Dowlah, the nabob-vizier, to extort lace from the princesses.

The vizier, upon reflection, regretted the step he had taken; and it was only under pressure that he could be brought to execute his part of the "treaty of Chunar" as it was called. The lands of the Begums were, however, seized; and, as the private treasure could not be obtained without force, the princesses were held in durance in their stately prison at Fyzabad. They and their attendants were treated with great severity—more especially two eunuchs who had held high place under the late vizier Sujah Dowlah, and who, after his death superintended the affairs of the household of his widow. These poor creatures were imprisoned, placed in irons, starved, and cruelly tortured, till the hearts of the Begums were melted to pity by the tales of their afflictions, and they were at length induced to purchase a mitigation of their sufferings, and by-and-bye their liberty, by the surrender of one and a quarter millions sterling, or nearly half their reputed wealth. Such transactions as these furnished fresh themes for the animadversions of his enemies both at home and in India.

The outcry against him had, indeed, become so general that he at length gave way to the pressure and resigned. His successor, Mr. Macpherson, having arrived, he embarked for England, where he was received with a spirit that seemed to be a protest against the action of his foes. He was, however, impeached (Feb. 1788) at the bar of the House of Lords on various charges of injustice, cruelty, and oppression towards the natives of India. The trial began in 1788. The case for the Commons was sustained by the most brilliant orators of the time—Burke, Fox, Sheridan, and others; while the accused was defended by Mr. Law—afterwards the famous Lord Ellenborough. The case which, at the outset, was the principal feature of the times, dragged on a weary length of nine years. The public had long grown tired of it; and the accused—whether rightly or wrongly, had come to be regarded as the martyr of a factious coterie. Other

events, too, had transpired to engross the public attention; and it was considered a manifest relief to all parties when, on the 23rd April 1795, the trial terminated with a verdict of acquittal.

In taking leave of this illustrious man, we cannot refrain from quoting the eloquent panegyric with which his great essayist closes the chapter of his history:—"With all his faults—and they were neither few nor small—only one cemetery was worthy to contain his remains. In that temple of silence and reconciliation where the enmities of twenty generations lie buried, in the great abbey which has during many ages afforded a quiet resting-place to those whose minds and bodies have been shattered by the contentions of the great hall, the dust of the illustrious accused should have mingled with the dust of the illustrious accusers. This was not to be. Yet the place of interment was not ill chosen. Behind the chancel of the parish church of Baylesford, in earth which already held the bones of many chiefs of the house of Hastings, was laid the coffin of the greatest man who has ever borne that ancient and widely-extended name. On that very spot probably, fourscore years before, the little Warren, meanly clad and scantily fed, had played with the children of ploughmen. Even then his young mind had resolved plans which might be called romantic. Yet, however romantic, it is not likely that they had been so strange as the truth. Not only had the poor orphan retrieved the fallen fortunes of his line. Not only had he repurchased the old lands, and rebuilt the old dwelling. He had preserved and extended an empire. He had founded a polity. He had administered government and war with more than the capacity of Richelieu. He had patronised learning with the judicious liberality of Cosmo. He had been attacked by the most formidable combination of enemies that ever sought the destruction of a victim; and over that combination, after a struggle of ten years, he had triumphed. He had at length gone down to his grave in the fulness of age, in peace, after so many troubles; in honour, after so much obloquy."

CHAPTER XV.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CORNWALLIS.

Changes in the Company's Government—Mr. Fox's Proposal—Pitt's India Bill—The Marquis Cornwallis the First Governor-general—His Reforms—Hostility of Tippoo—Campaign of General Medows—Cornwallis' Campaign—Battle of Arikera—Treaty with Tippoo—Reform of the Land-tenure—The Revenue.

PREVIOUS to the retirement of Hastings from the head of affairs at Calcutta, certain important changes had taken place in the machinery of the Company's government. The concerns of India had begun to assume such colossal proportions, and had become so mixed up with the honour and welfare of the nation, that the prosperity of their administration by a single company, although controlled in a measure by the operation of the Act of 1772, was a subject of grave consideration. The corruption and greed of the officials had long been matter for criticism; and from a consideration of the subordinate, the public mind had been naturally drawn to a contemplation of the principals; so that the status of the Company was now pretty freely discussed. It was the opinion of many, that for a private institution, the Company was becoming too powerful.

It is true that, owing to speculation, extravagance, mismanagement, and the opposition of powerful princes, their finances were not in a satisfactory condition; but a vast field was, nevertheless, open to them; and they were in a fair way of becoming possessed of a dominion, which, in its extent and resources, found no equal in the foreign possessions of their own or any other sovereign. The Court of Directors had certainly taken steps, from time to time, to limit the area of their dominion, and had issued orders to the councils forbidding an extension of

the territory; but this was too often interpreted to signify nothing more than a desire that no further burdens should be added to an exhausted exchequer; and that no new undertaking should be set on foot that did not promise immediate profit; and so the process of territorial enlargement went forward.

On the renewal of the Company's charter in 1781, they were required to pay an annual sum of £400,000 to the nation, and to be content with a dividend of eight per cent. This alteration in the Company's tenure was followed up by a course of vigorous legislation. Down to this time, the affairs of India had been conducted by a Court of Directors, who were responsible to a Court of Proprietors of India stock alone. The imperial government had no hand in their concerns, except such as the Act of 1772 had secured them. The first to undertake a reform was Mr. Fox, who, in 1783, proposed that the government of India should be administered by the Company. The courts above mentioned were to be abolished, and in their stead a board of seven commissioners formed, who were to have the appointment of the Company's servants, they themselves being removable only by the sovereign in an address from either house. The scheme was considered revolutionary, and was rejected by the Lords.

Mr. Pitt now brought in the famous bill which bears his name. This measure, though differing materially in form from that of his rival, closely resembled it in essence. The present courts, with some modifications of their machinery, were to be retained with nearly their ancient authority; but, in addition to these, a third was established, consisting of a chief commissioner appointed by the crown, the chancellor of the exchequer, and others. This was known as the Board of Control. The duty of the board was to supervise and sanction the entire Company's proceedings. Its establishment is the chief feature of Pitt's measure.

The first governor-general appointed under the new system was the Marquis Cornwallis, a name celebrated in the annals of the western world as one of the chief com-

manders in the American War of Independence (1786). He may be regarded as the successor to Warren Hastings, as Mr. Macpherson's administration was merely a temporary arrangement. His administration, which altogether lasted six years, embraces one of the most eventful periods of the history.

The policy of Lord Cornwallis was decidedly pacific; indeed, he had gone out with strict injunctions from his employers to avoid further contests. This policy he was able to follow for three years of his administration only; for, unfortunately for the maintenance of peace, he had fallen upon stirring times; and the ever restless Tippoo, a man of war from his youth, ambitious beyond measure, owning a vast and well-disciplined army, and flushed with recent triumphs, had every incentive to disturb the peace of the peninsula.

During the era of quiet above referred to, the energies of the new governor had been seriously directed towards the correction of abuses—in the course of which he displayed a generous anxiety to do justice to the natives, and to defend the weak against the tyranny of the strong. His political wisdom, however, though of a high order, was not faultless; and he committed one grave error which rendered the latter portion of his administration a turbulent contrast to its earlier years. In settling the affairs of the nizam, he managed to give offence to Tippoo; and this restless prince, burning, as his father had done, to humble the English, and so clear the way for the furtherance of his schemes of conquest and aggrandisement, was not slow in exhibiting his resentment. He found a pretext for hostilities in the action of the Rajah of Travancore. This prince had lately purchased the coast towns of Cranganore and Ayacotta from the Dutch. Tippoo, however, claimed them as the property of his ally, the Rajah of Cochin, and demanded their surrender. Travancore was at this time under the protection of the English; and the Madras government was bound to oppose his demand. As, however, it hesitated to act, Lord Cornwallis, seeing the danger of delay, resolved to take the matter up him-

self; for Tippoo, bent on war, was already in the field. Cornwallis at once accepted an offer of alliance made to him by Nana Furnawees, the Mahratta chieftain, who had equal cause with the nizam to dread the ambition of their restless neighbour.

Operations were commenced in the summer of 1790, but the campaign has little interest. The allies under General Medows, at first successful, were smartly checked by their antagonist in their attempt to force the passes of the Ghauts. The territory of Travancore, however, was secured from invasion, and a few other trifling advantages were gained by the English.

Dissatisfied at the general results, however, Lord Cornwallis himself now took the command, and the campaign of 1791 opened favourably indeed for the allies. The passes were captured, and the army of the governor now upon the plateau of Mysore had no natural obstacle to impede their progress. Bangalore was stormed and carried with great gallantry; and Cornwallis being joined by the nizam's army, turned westward towards Tippoo's capital of Seringapatam, in which neighbourhood Tippoo, having, as was his wont, studiously avoided general engagements, had concentrated his forces. The hostile armies met at Arikera. Tippoo was defeated; but the British general, unable from failure of supplies, to continue operations, withdrew to Bangalore.

The reduction of some mountain fortresses kept the troops employed for a while; and by-and-bye (1792) Cornwallis, having completed his preparations, moved once more towards Seringapatam. This stronghold was literally surrounded by the allies; and Tippoo, perceiving his danger, decided upon opening negotiations with the English governor. With great difficulty a treaty was concluded by which Tippoo surrendered half his territory to the allies, and consented to pay a large sum towards the expenses of the war. The maritime province of Malabar was, by this treaty, made over to the English.

Relieved at length from all anxiety with regard to the ambition of Tippoo, Lord Cornwallis was at liberty to

carry out those changes in the administration for which, rather than his military undertakings, he is especially celebrated. Of these, the reform of the land-tenure in Bengal holds the foremost place. The change was as follows. The revenues of the various provinces of the dominions of the Moguls, their details and method of collection, had been settled before the Company had initiated that policy of conquest which by-and-bye was to transfer them to their management. Up to the year 1761, the Company had had no hand in this; when, however, at the present date, the dewany or financial management of Bengal was surrendered to the English by the Emperor of Delhi, the duties of adjustment and collection naturally passed into their hands.

No change was then effected either in their incidents or method of collection—the tenures remaining as previously fixed, and the taxes being collected and paid in the usual manner by officials termed *zemindars*. Many and great changes had necessarily taken place since at the command of Akbar, the survey and valuation of lands had been made; and the new proprietors were not blind to the necessity of a readjustment. It was, however, deemed inexpedient to make any alterations, and so matters went on as they had been wont to do, till the period of Lord Cornwallis' appointment to the governor-generalship, when the directors drew attention to the irregularities of the system, and Cornwallis was instructed to deal with the subject.

His plan was to vest the property of the soil in the *zemindars*. It was a question as to whom the lands belonged. Some contended that they were the property of the state; others, of the people. Cornwallis and his council inclined to the latter opinion. Their measure, however, was a compromise, inasmuch as, instead of bestowing them upon the cultivators, they made them over in perpetuity to the *zemindars*, to whom they had ever been accustomed to look for the revenues accruing therefrom. The *zemindars* were to be responsible still for the payments; and the cultivation of the land was provided

for by a system of leases whereby the ryots or cultivators were secured in their tenures; and thus, a never-failing revenue was ensured.

The change was considered advisable, and no doubt was well intended; but unfortunately the reform was made without due regard to the feelings, habits, and prejudices of the people whom it so greatly concerned. Hence, although it was productive of certain advantages, its drawbacks were greater. It secured a permanent revenue to the Company; but it unfortunately barred all provision for emergencies, and took no account of a prospective advance in value; and, while it tended to create a local aristocracy of wealth, it brought ruin to the door of many a substantial yeoman.

Among the judicial reforms of Lord Cornwallis, was the separation of the offices of tax-collector and judge, hitherto vested in one man. The evils attending such an arrangement were so glaring, that no statesmen, endued with the slightest sense of justice, could withhold reform in this direction.

To further the administration of justice, Lord Cornwallis established certain courts, in some measure analogous to our county-courts, over which a judge holding high rank was appointed. Provision was made for appeal from the decisions of these judges; but unfortunately, through its restrictions, the natives were, as a rule, excluded from its benefits. The injustice of this was so palpable, that the government was constrained to modify the system. The area of exclusion was accordingly narrowed; and four tribunals of appeal in place of one, namely at Calcutta, Patna, Dacca, and Moorshedabad, were at the same time established.

He likewise abolished judges' fees, and rendered easier the process of pleading in the courts. He reformed the penal laws, and established courts of circuit, rendering it incumbent upon the judges to report, on their return, the condition of the country whose judicial affairs they administered, and to give an account concerning the general working of the law.

CHAPTER XVI.

ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN SHORE AND EARLY YEARS OF THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY'S REIGN.

Mahratta Struggles—Defeat of Holkar by Scindia at Dukhairee—
Rejection of the Nizam's Appeal—Settlement of the Succession of Oude—Resignation of Sir John Shore—Arrival of Lord Mornington—Contracts Alliances—Outbreak of War with Tippoo—Tippoo, beaten, retires to Seringapatam—Siege of Seringapatam and Death of Tippoo—Advancement of Lord Mornington—Position of Tippoo's Dominions—Settlement of Affairs in the Carnatic—Of Oude.

THE administration of Sir John Shore followed that of Lord Cornwallis in 1793. His efforts were mainly devoted to the development of the measures of his predecessor, in the enactment of which he had taken no unimportant part. His term of office was a short and eminently peaceful one. Had he been anxious to gain military distinction, current events would have given him ample opportunity to make trial of his skill in this direction; but, rightly or wrongly, he chose to observe a rigid neutrality.

The chief interest of the times immediately preceding and following the defeat of Tippoo at Arikera, was centered in the Mahratta country, where a continuous struggle for supremacy was going on between the great chieftains Mahadajee Scindia, Mulhar Rao Holkar, and Nana Furnaweas. The former had grown exceedingly powerful; and, through the services he had rendered the emperor, had been entrusted with the management of the affairs of the court of Delhi. Holkar had gained for himself great military renown; and Nana, who was the ministerial head of the Mahratta nation, jealous of the abilities and power of these chieftains, endeavoured to play them off

against each other, thinking that their mutual enmity might remove the danger their ambition threatened. A battle took place between these rivals at Dukhairee, in which Holkar was signally defeated. The victor's death, which occurred soon after the engagement, removed the chief cause of anxiety from Nana, and he now felt at liberty to settle an old score with the nizam.

The nizam did not consider himself strong enough to withstand the Mahratta force unaided, and so he appealed for protection to the English. That protection was refused; and in this, Sir John Shore's policy has been condemned; because it left open a way for French intrigue, and led, by-and-bye, to complications of a most serious character. Disappointed by the English, he began to make preparations upon his own account; and such were his exertions, that when he took the field it was at the head of an army of 100,000 men. The forces of his antagonist were slightly superior in regard to numbers. The action which ensued at Khurdlah, though almost a bloodless, was a decisive one. It ended in favour of the Mahrattas; and after the action a treaty was concluded, in every way advantageous to the victors.

Sir John Shore resigned his authority in 1798, after a reign of three years, and was succeeded by Lord Mornington. The period of his sway, though far from brilliant, had not been altogether uneventful. An attempt on the part of the home government to alter the constitution of the Indian army occasioned a serious mutiny, which was only quelled with the greatest difficulty. His most memorable transaction was that in connection with the succession in Oude; and in the settlement of this difficulty he displayed a firmness of purpose worthy of Hastings himself. His administration, however, had been pronounced on the whole weak, and his recall had long been determined upon. That his administration had been conducted with some credit is evident by his advancement; for, ere he had quitted the land of his labours, he was rewarded by a peerage. He henceforth took his seat in the upper house as Lord Teignmouth.

When Lord Mornington entered upon his duties as governor-general, in May 1798, the whole peninsula was in a condition of ferment. In the Mahratta country, one of the most remarkable exhibitions of the game of plot and counterplot had for some time been going forward, and threatened grave complications. In the Deccan, the nizam was inclined to be mischievous; while further, foiled though not subdued, was the restless Tippoo, cherishing all the bitterness of a vengeful spirit, and intriguing to bring about a combination which should be powerful enough to carry out the favourite scheme of his ambitious sire, and drive the English into the sea. To add to the dangers which such a state of things portended, a war was at the time raging between the English and their old enemy in Europe; and the French had taken the opportunity this circumstance afforded them, of entering the arena and swelling the volume of difficulties with which the new governor-general had to grapple.

In fact, Tippoo had entered into an alliance with the French; and there was every reason for supposing that he would obtain the services of a contingent of some 80,000 or 90,000 men to increase the formidable array of well-disciplined, well-officered troops which he of himself was able to bring into the field; and he had only to gain over the ever-changeable Mahrattas to his side, to render the effect overwhelming. The Madras government had no force by which they could hope to meet such a combination, and in this perplexity, therefore, Lord Mornington had no course open to him but to contract alliances. By the aid of Meer Allum, the minister at Hyderabad, he procured the dismissal of the nizam's French contingent; and thus a highly disciplined force of 15,000 men was prevented from entering the service of his enemies against him.

Lord Mornington had come out, as his predecessors had done, with the strict injunctions of the directors to avoid hostilities where possible; but the danger that threatened English interests were so apparent, and so serious, that the peaceful tone of Leadenhall Street was

changed, and the new governor-general was consequently able to pursue a warlike policy fearless of all blame, except such as mismanagement or failure might entail. This was the period of Buonaparte's expedition into Egypt—a movement fraught with extreme peril to British dominion in India; and Lord Mornington was therefore resolved either to appease their great enemy, or to crush him before matters should be past remedy. The governor at first had recourse to negotiation; but Tippoo, who was then actually in correspondence with Buonaparte, as also with the Afghan chieftain, Reman Shah, had recourse to evasion. Lord Mornington persevered with his overtures, and supported his demands with a threat of war. Tippoo, with that dauntless courage so characteristic of him, manfully took up his enemy's gauntlet; and thus hostilities commenced.

The English forces were by this time considerably augmented; and two well-equipped corps, under Generals Harris and Stuart respectively, were at once brought into the field (1799). The season was favourable for military operations; and it was hoped that Tippoo's capital might be captured before the heavy rains should come to swell the waters of the Cauvery. Tippoo was not long in discovering how formidable an army his adversaries had brought against him. Nevertheless, his proud spirit could not suffer him to give in—at least, at this early point; and he kept the field, not without a hope, however faint, that something might happen to alter the position of affairs. His forces, beaten in the field, retreated step by step, till at length no other course was left him but to retire to his fortified capital of Seringapatam.

Here his despair culminated; but, defiant, even in the face of certain destruction, he haughtily refused the terms of General Harris, and resolved to die like a soldier. A breach having been effected in the walls, the place was gallantly carried by General Baird, an officer who had spent much of his time in the dungeons of the town; and that in spite of a most determined resistance on the part of the garrison. Tippoo himself took part in the

defence of the place; and, a man of war from his youth, he died, as he had ever lived—a proud and dauntless soldier. The British losses were heavy, but the issue was an important one, and it was therefore not regretted. As a reward for his services, Lord Mornington was created Marquis Wellesley; while General Harris was raised to the peerage.

The Mysorean dominion, as established by Hyder Ally, was now reduced to its former circumscribed dimensions. The acquisitions of Hyder were made over to the nizam and the Mahrattas; while a territory of some 20,000 square miles was added to the British possessions. A representative of the old rajah, a mere boy, was taken from the confinement in which he, with the family, had long lingered, and placed upon the throne. It is gratifying to reflect that the sins of Tippoo were not visited upon the heads of his offspring; for an allowance was made them from the treasury adequate to their comfortable support.

Having broken the power of Mysore, Lord Wellesley directed his attention to various minor dangers with which British interests in India were at this time threatened. He began with the Carnatic. This province had, owing to the equivocal character of its government, proved a source of weakness during the struggle with Hyder Ally. The Mysorean prince overran its territory and carried havoc to its towns and villages unchecked. In the recent war with Tippoo, some alarm had been felt, inasmuch as its nabob, never well-disposed towards the English, was supposed to be intriguing with their enemy. To prevent further apprehension, the nabob was called upon to surrender the administration of the affairs of government to the English, and to accept, as an equivalent for his loss of dignity and revenue, an allowance from the exchequer of the country. After considerable difficulty, this mode of settlement was agreed to; and, for the future, the affairs of the Carnatic were directed by the Council of Madras (1801).

The governor's next business was with Oude. He had

been fondly hoped that the establishment of this territory, under British supervision, would operate as a check upon the encroachments of the Mahrattas and other western nations. So far from this, however, its existence in its present condition was rather a source of danger than protection to the British dominions. Its army was demoralised, its revenues decaying, and its absorption into the territories of the Mahrattas or the Afghans, was an event apparently not far distant. Lord Wellesley now made a similar proposition with regard to the future administration of this province, as he had done concerning the Carnatic, and requested that the effete army of the vizier should be disbanded, and an English contingent maintained for its defence. The vizier temporised, then refused, and at length spoke of abdication. The affairs of the territory were ultimately settled (1801) upon the basis proposed by the governor; and Oude, like the Carnatic, was virtually added to the rapidly increasing dominions of Britain in India.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

(Continued).

Disturbed Condition of the Peninsula—Scindia and Holkar—Treaty of Bassein—Second Mahratta War—General Wellesley's Campaign—Victory of Assaye—General Lake's Movements—Restoration of the Emperor—Treaty of Sinjer Anjengaom—Holkar's Movements—His Success—Bhurtpoor Besieged—Review of Lord Wellesley's Services—His Recall—Lord Cornwallis Governor-general a Second Time—Temporary Reign of Sir George Barlow—Death of Holkar.

THE most uncompromising enemy of Britain in India, Tippoo Sahib, was now at rest for ever; and yet it seemed as if his spirit were still abroad. The collapse of his empire brought no peace to India, for, to say nothing of such minor conflicts as that of Colonel Wellesley with the freebooting horsemen of Dhondia, the Mysorean war was followed by a conflict not less arduous than that with Tippoo, equally favourable to British arms, and perhaps more momentous as regards results—namely, the second Mahratta war.

This Mahratta conflict, indeed, was a consequence of the Mysorean struggle, and arose out of the distribution of Tippoo's territory. The Mahrattas, as has already been stated, were a powerful nation; and, had they been as united as they were brave and skilful in military matters, it is quite within the bounds of probability that they would long have remained an independent state, dividing with our countrymen a dictatorial influence over neighbouring provinces. In Nana Furnaweas, they possessed a statesman of consummate ability; in the miscreant Ghatgay, they had one of the most terror-inspiring and

unscrupulous agents that diplomacy ever employed; while the names of the Scindias, the Holkars, Pureshram Bhow, Rughoba and some of the Peshwas, stand high upon the roll of native Indian commanders. Intestine strife, however, was the order of the day with this unhappy nation; and her great leaders, bent on self-aggrandisement, employed their genius against each other to the detriment of the state and the advantage of envious enemies.

The year following the capture of Seringapatam witnessed the death of the great Mahratta counsellor above mentioned—Nana Furnaweess; and his removal occasioned a resumption of the unseemly feuds which his presence had of late served in a measure to check. First Dowlat Rao Scindia stepped to the front; and, getting possession of the Peshwa, became virtual ruler of the state. Then Jeswunt Rao Holkar arose to dispute Scindia's supremacy. These chieftains took up arms. Victory, which at first declared itself upon the side of Holkar, was quickly reversed in favour of his adversary; and, eventually, Scindia was defeated in an action at Poonah, so decisive, that Holkar was, for the present, left without a rival in the state.

These internecine feuds were of themselves of little consequence to the English; as, however, they were indirectly the cause of a mighty struggle, their mention is not altogether out of place. The cause of Scindia had been that of the Peshwa (Bajee Rao); and, upon this chieftain's defeat at Poonah, he had cast about for new champions. He thought of the English, and with them entered into negotiations which led to what is known as the treaty of Bassein. The terms of this treaty, based as they were on foreign alliance, were antagonistic to the entire course of Mahratta policy; and, as such, it gave grave offence to such leaders as Scindia and Holkar, from whose bosom, notwithstanding all their mutual jealousy and selfishness, the spark of patriotism had not yet died out. They immediately set up a rival to him; and Bajee Rao, by way of countercheck, abrogated the obnoxious treaty.

The consequence of this policy was a confederation of almost the entire Mahratta forces against the English. Holkar, for private reasons, declined to join it; but his defection was amply supplied by Rughojee Bhoslay, rajah of Berar, who had given it his support; and the array was therefore a formidable one. Matters were precipitated by the action of the governor-general, who, in order to carry out the provisions of the treaty of Bassein, despatched two armies for the occupation of the provinces (1803). Poonah was taken possession of, and Scindia, the leading spirit of the confederation, appealed to. His tone was in the highest degree defiant; and the English commander, General Wellesley, had no alternative left him but to try the argument of the sword.

He was fully prepared; for no fewer than 50,000 men were encamped upon the Deccan, and stood ready to enter the Mahratta territory. General Wellesley (the future Duke of Wellington), the hero of this second Mahratta war, commanded a force of 7000 men; and with this small band he commenced operations by attacking and taking the fortress of Ahmednugger. Scindia now advanced from Berar to meet his enemy; and the encounter took place upon the memorable field of Assaye. This action, the most important, and certainly the most brilliant since the great fight of Plassey, has been thus described:—

“After a rapid march of about four miles, Wellesley saw, from an elevated plain, not only their infantry, but the whole force of the Mahrattas, nearly 50,000 men, encamped on the north side of the Kistna river, the banks of which were very steep. The Mahratta right, consisting of cavalry, was about Bokerdon; their infantry corps, connected with the cavalry, and having with them ninety pieces of artillery, were encamped near the village of Assaye.

“Although the enemy were so much stronger than he had expected to find them, no thought of retreat was entertained. Wellesley resolved to attack the infantry on its left and rear, and for that purpose he moved his

little army to a ford some distance beyond the enemy's extreme left. Leaving the Mysore and other irregular cavalry to watch the Mahratta cavalry, and crossing the river with only his regular horse and infantry, he passed the ford, ascended the difficult steep bank, and formed his men in three lines, two of infantry, and the third of horse. This was effected under a brisk cannonade from the enemy's artillery. Scindia, or the French officer who directed his movements, promptly made a corresponding change in his line, giving a new front to his infantry, which was now made to rest its right on the river, and its left upon the village of Assaye and the Juah stream, which flowed in a direction parallel with the Kistna.

"The Mahratta's numerous and well-served cannon did terrible execution among our advancing lines, knocking over men and bullocks, and completely drowning the weak sound of our scanty artillery. At one moment, such a gap was made by cannon-ball in our right, that some of the Mahratta cavalry attempted to charge through it; but the British cavalry in the third line came up, and drove back the Mahrattas with great slaughter. Finding his own artillery of little or no use (the guns could not be brought up for lack of bullocks), General Wellesley gave orders that it should be left in the rear, and that the infantry should charge with the bayonet.

"His steady, resolute advance in the teeth of their guns had awed the Mahrattas, who would not now stand to meet the collision of the bright English steel; their infantry gave way and abandoned their terrible guns. One body of them formed again, and presented a bold front; but Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell charged them with the British cavalry, broke and dispersed them, and was killed in the moment of victory. Wellesley's sepoy, having proceeded too far in pursuit, many of Scindia's artillerymen, who had thrown themselves down among the carriages of their guns as though they were dead, got to their feet again, and turned their pieces against the rear of the advancing sepoy; and, at the same time,

the Mahratta cavalry, which had been hovering round through the battle, were still near; but Maxwell's exploit soon led to the silencing of this straggling artillery fire, and to the headlong flight of Scindia's disciplined infantry, who went off, and left ninety pieces of cannon, nearly all brass, and of the proper calibre, in the hands of the conqueror.

"General Wellesley led the 78th British infantry in person against the village of Assaye, which was not cleared without a desperate combat. It was dark night when the firing ceased. The splendid victory cost General Wellesley 22 officers and 386 men killed, and 57 officers and 1526 men wounded, excluding the irregular cavalry, which remained on the other side of the river, and had not been engaged; the total number of killed and wounded amounted to nearly one-third of his force. The general himself had two horses killed under him, one shot, and one other piked; every one of his staff-officers had one or two horses killed, and his orderly's head was knocked off by a cannon-ball as he rode close by his side. The enemy, who fled towards the Adjunttee Ghaut, through which they had passed into the Deccan, left 1200 dead, and a great number badly wounded, on the field of battle."*

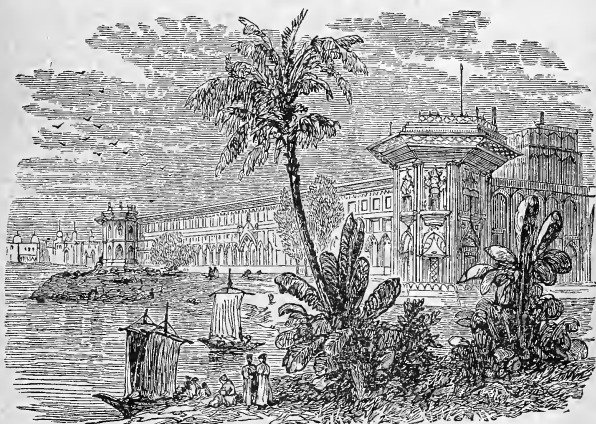
Colonel Stevenson, who did not arrive until the day after the battle, went in pursuit of Scindia; and captured, in his advance, the fortresses of Boorhampoor and Asserghur.

Meanwhile, a strong force under General Lake was operating against the enemy in the north. The Mahratta army was commanded by a French officer named Perron. Scindia's forces, now encamped at Allyghur, which fortress was gallantly stormed and taken by the British, who thereupon advanced on Delhi. A bloody battle occurred in the neighbourhood of the imperial city; and the English forces, completely victorious, entered Delhi, and restored the emperor, who had long been under the tutelage of Scindia, to his lost authority. A subsequent victory was obtained at Agra; and, within a month of

* *Memoir of the Duke of Wellington.* By Charles M'Farlane.

this; an obstinate, but successful struggle at Laswaree closed the campaign.

Wellesley's operations were not concluded by the overthrow of Scindia at Assaye. Rughojee Boslay, of Berar, remained yet to be dealt with. His province was accordingly invaded, and its chief fortresses attacked by British arms. The general then, in conjunction with Colonel Stevenson, attacked the rajah's forces at Argaoim; where,



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after a desperate resistance, they were defeated with severe loss. The subsequent capture of his great stronghold, Gawilghur, entirely dissipated the hopes of the confederate chieftains; and negotiations were accordingly entered into, which ultimately led to the establishment of peace. By the treaty of Sirjee Anjengaom, as it is termed, the rajah surrendered Kuttack, which province had previously been taken possession of by the English, to Sikundah Jah, the son and successor of Nizam Ally; while Scindia gave up the Doab some of his possessions in Rajpootana, the Deccan, and Kandeish, entered into a defensive alliance with his conquerors, and assented to

many less important provisions. And thus, this second, and in every way most important, Mahratta war was terminated, to the very great advantage of the English.

Still, there was no rest for British arms. The great chief, Holkar, the victor of Poonah, it will be remembered, had taken no part in the struggles of his countrymen against their English adversaries. Indeed, there is little doubt but that he had in secret gloated over the humiliation of his old rival; and, it is certain, that he intended to profit by it; for no sooner were the English out of the field, than he invaded the dominions of Scindia, and committed many and grievous depredations therein. If, however, he had had no affection for his compatriot, he had still less for his English conquerors; and he now made no secret of his wish to measure swords with them. In all his dealings with our countrymen, he conducted himself with the most studied arrogance; and matters at length wore such a complexion, that there was no avoiding hostilities. They began somewhat unpropitiously for the English. The monsoon interfered with the movements of the troops; and Colonel Monson, who had advanced into the enemy's territory, was compelled to beat a hasty retreat.

This retrograde movement was conducted in a masterly manner; but, although disaster was averted by the skill of the commander, the moral effect was considerable; for it rallied many hitherto wavering chieftains to Holkar's standard, and inspired him with the confidence which is so often the parent of success. With an army of 80,000 men at his back, he followed his retiring enemy to Muttra, and then laid siege to Delhi. This fortress gallantly held out until relieved by General Lake, when the besiegers withdrew to the Bhurtpoor district, plundering and devastating the Doab, and committing the most unheard-of barbarities on their way. At Deeg he was brought to bay; and there suffered a signal defeat at the hands of Colonel Monson. The siege of Bhurtpoor was now unadvisedly commenced by General Lake. It was strongly fortified, and resolutely defended by an exceedingly

numerous garrison; and, moreover, a portion of Holkar's forces, whose retreat from Deeg had never been properly followed up, hovered about the lines of the besiegers and harassed them flank and rear.

Three times the assault was made; and as many times had our countrymen to retire before the desperate valour of the defenders; and when, at length, it gave signs of submission, it was because the decisive overthrow of Holkar's army by Captain Royal had cut the garrison off from all hope of relief. Lake was glad enough to listen to the overtures of the rajah of the place; for it had been found necessary to follow Holkar, whose junction with his enemy Scindia was a probable circumstance. Ghatgay had already joined, and was exerting himself in his usual crafty manner in his behalf. A treaty was therefore concluded with Holkar. The siege of Bhurtpoor was raised, and preparations made for another campaign against Scindia, Ghatgay, and the confederates. The direction of affairs, however, was left to other hands than those of the present governor-general.

Lord Wellesley had tendered his resignation so early as the year 1803. His administration had been a highly successful one in every way. He had overthrown, in Tippoo Sahib, one of the most formidable adversaries that English arms had had to contend with in India. He had brought order out of the chaotic condition of the government of Tanjore and the Carnatic; had settled the affairs of Oude; and, with a promptitude deserving of the highest credit, had despatched a British corps across the Arabian desert to co-operate with our countrymen under Abercrombie in Egypt. Beyond this, he had introduced many and important reforms into the civil administration of the country. On the other hand, he had, by his encouragement of a private Indian trade, given grave offence to the company; and their displeasure found expression in a severe vote of censure. This action of the Court of Directors and Proprietors was met by the governor-general in the manner referred to. It did not, however, suit the Company's purpose to lose the services of one,

who, with all his shortcomings, had greatly furthered their interests; and he was, to his manifest surprise, entreated to retain his office. So long as success attended his operations his administration was not interrupted; when, however, his ancient good fortune seemed likely to desert him, the representations of his enemies began anew to receive attention; and his supercession followed.

His successor was the veteran Lord Cornwallis, who landed at Calcutta in July 1805. He was by this time a prematurely old man, in feeble health, and his second administration lasted for a few months only. It was an unfortunate circumstance, as it put an end to those hopes of peace which his known pacific tendencies had portended. He was succeeded in office by Sir George Barlow. A treaty, set on foot by his predecessor, was concluded with Scindia; and Holkar was thus deprived of his rival's assistance. Nevertheless, he resolved to pursue the struggle without it. He had hopes of being joined by the Sikhs; but in this he was disappointed. Their chief, Runjeet Singh, however, offered his services as mediator; and an accommodation was effected by which he himself was an unexpected gainer. The Mahratta strife closes with this treaty with Holkar.

A new policy of absolute non-interference was initiated with the retirement of Lord Wellesley from the arena, the effects of which were at once apparent in the operations of Holkar, who, safe in the passive attitude of the English, ravaged the territories of those chiefs who opposed him, committed the most atrocious acts, and again assumed an attitude which was a menace to the peace of the Indian peninsula. Happily, his career was cut short by an attack of insanity, which caused him to be placed under restraint. He died in 1811, six years after the execution of the treaty which had endowed him with a despot's licence.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD MINTO.

Mutiny and Massacre at Vellore — Arrival of Lord Minto — England's Mission — The Sikhs — Treaty made with Runjeet Singh at Amritsur — Mission to Persia — To the Afghan Court — The Pindarees — Insurrection of Vailoo Tumbee — Revolt of British Officers — Capture of Mauritius — Operations in Java — The Island taken from the Dutch — Close of Lord Minto's Administration.

THE administration of Sir George Barlow was but a temporary arrangement; and his term of office did not last two years. His brief reign is marked by the introduction of financial reforms, which led to a reduction of the Company's expenditure. One stirring event occurred during the period, namely, a mutiny of sepoys, which was attended with a frightful massacre of European soldiers at Vellore (1806). The revolt was speedily suppressed by Colonel Gillespie from Arcot; and the family of Tippoo, who, since the fall of Seringapatam, had been located there, was removed to Calcutta. The effect of this movement, which is supposed to have been instigated by the resident family, but which was in reality the exponent of a widespread disaffection throughout Madras, was to cause the recall of Lord Bentinck from the government of that province, Sir George Barlow being appointed in his place. Lord Minto, the appointed successor of Lord Cornwallis, arrived in 1807.

Lord Minto had been warned, like his predecessors, against an aggressive policy; his reign, nevertheless, commenced with warlike operations. The truth is, that in the present agitated condition of the peninsula, it was found impossible to maintain such an attitude. England had by this time acquired such a footing in India, as to have become not only its leading, but likewise its controlling power. As such, she was, in a measure, respon-

sible for the peace of the land, and the protection of its people against the violence of wayward and ambitious chieftains, and especially in those portions of it wherein her power was feared and respected. It was this consideration alone that could justify her title to a footing, other than a commercial one, in this eastern land; and, failing in the execution of this obligation, her duty was to withdraw from a position in which she could only appear to the eyes of civilization in the barbarous aspect of a mere conqueror. It is to the credit of the new governor that he recognised this fact; and in the true interests of peace, reversed his predecessor's policy by despatching an expedition against the enemies of order who had by this time made Bundelkund a theatre of anarchy and bloodshed.

Lord Minto had scarcely restored order in Bundelkund than he was called upon to face a question of great delicacy and perplexity. The people called Sikhs, once a despised Hindu race, and long the objects of Mohammedan persecution, had, in the process of years, developed into a populous and warlike nation. At this period of the history they occupied the Punjaub and the district lying to the east of it, between the Sutlej and Jumna. From being a mere aggregate of petty tribes, the Punjaub Sikhs had at length, under the benign rule of Runjeet Singh, settled down into a homogeneous nation; while their compatriots of the east, who chose to retain their pristine condition of independence, were under the protection of the English. Runjeet Singh had long had an eye upon their province, and he now threatened to force them into the confederation of which he was head. The Sikh states forthwith appealed for aid to the English. The governor would fain have guaranteed their integrity; but he was in this dilemma:—He could not well abandon faithful allies, for such these cis-Sutlej Sikhs really were; neither, on the other hand, had he any desire to offend a powerful chieftain, whose alliance, considering the aspect European affairs had assumed, might by-and-bye prove to be of inestimable value. Moreover, his instructions, as

has been remarked, were to avoid future complications; and he could not enter the arena without being prepared to strike in support of his policy. His policy preserved peace, for the time at least. By the firmness of Mr. Metcalfe, the envoy, and the promptitude of the governor in despatching troops to the frontier, Runjeet Singh was induced to sign a pacific treaty at Amritsur (1809), which he observed with all fidelity until his death.

The great fear of Indian governors at this period was a French invasion from the north. Such an event had long been considered a possibility; and an embassy sent by Buonaparte to the Persian court in 1809, had brought it within the range of probabilities. This contingency, as has been hinted above, was an item in the late Sikh question; for to prepare for such an emergency was now one of the main duties of those responsible for the maintenance of British empire in India. To meet the exigencies of the case, a counter-mission was despatched to the Shah of Persia, which happily led to more favourable results than at one time had been anticipated; and a permanent ambassador, in the person of Sir Gore Ouseley, was accordingly accredited to Ispahan (1810). A second embassy was, about the same time, sent to the Afghan king, Shah Sujah, at Peshawar; but, unhappily, the mission was not attended with like results.

About this time a new power arose in India to perplex the counsels of the English governor, namely, the Pindarees. This people were the representatives of the Patan or Afghan warriors, who, in times gone by, had long lorded it in the peninsula. They dwelt chiefly amid the fastnesses of Malwar. They were a predatory race, fierce and warlike; and their habit had been to hire themselves out as mercenaries. Under the able leadership of Ameer Khan, they had become a scourge to their neighbours. On some slight pretext Ameer invaded the territory of Nagpoor, trusting to the treaty with Holkar for immunity from English interference. The governor, notwithstanding, was determined to take action, and Ameer was checked. It was due to the non-interferent policy of the

home authorities that he was not crushed at once, but was permitted to escape to be a thorn in the side of our countrymen, and sorely to perplex future governors.

Meanwhile, affairs of a serious character had occurred in the Madras presidency. The first was an insurrection of Vailoo Tumbee, who, irritated at being discharged from the administration of the affairs of the Rajah of Travancore, attacked the commander, and murdered several British soldiers in cold blood. He was ultimately brought to bay and defeated; when his power to do mischief was put an end to by suicide. A more serious occurrence was the revolt of British officers, occasioned by a sense of injustice, real or imaginary, on the part of the governor. Mainly through the fidelity of the sepoys, and the firmness of the governor, the revolt was eventually suppressed; but not till the insurgents had so far committed themselves as to open their guns upon the loyal forces who were advancing to take possession of their chief stronghold, Seringapatam. This occurrence led to the recall of Sir George Barlow.

The year 1810 is marked by operations of the Indian government which took place beyond the confines of the peninsula. The important island of Mauritius was taken from the French, and the possessions of the Dutch in the eastern seas captured by Sir Samuel Achmuty. The interest of the expedition was centered in Java, which island, defended by the French, became the scene of many an obstinate contest. Batavia was first captured; and the victors, advancing to the great stronghold of Cornelis, carried it after a desperate and deadly struggle. Amboyna and Banda had previously capitulated.

The reign of Lord Minto closed in 1813. On the whole, his administration had been a successful one. It is, however, to be regretted that his hands were tied by directions from home; otherwise, by prompt action, such as he often showed himself to be capable of exercising, he doubtless would have destroyed the power of the Pindarees.

CHAPTER XIX.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

Troubled condition of the Indian Peninsula—Outbreak of the Ghoorka War—Success of the Ghoorkas—The Mahrattas and Pindarees join the Enemies of England—The English Successful—Treaty of Katmandoo, and Close of the War—Movements of the Pindarees—Commencement of the Pindaree and Third Mahratta Wars—Treachery of the Peshwa, Bajee Rao—Assassination of Gunga Dhow—Surrender of Trimbukjee Dainglia—Attack upon the Peshwa's Forces—Repulse of Cheetoo at Seetabuldee—Cession of Mahratta Territory—Perturbed state of Holkar's Dominions—Subjugation of the Pindarees—Division of the Mahratta Dominions—Administrative Labours of the Marquis Hastings.

LORD MINTO was succeeded by the Earl of Moira, afterwards Marquis of Hastings. He found the country in that condition of calm, which, in nature, is the usual forerunner of a disturbance in the elements. The tempest eventually broke over the Himalayan district, where dwelt a Rajpoot race, which, centuries since, had passed the mountain barrier of northern India, and established for themselves an independent dominion, known as Nepaul. These people had long been a menace to the province of Oude; and Lord Minto had, during his government, attempted to come to some arrangement with them regarding the establishment of a common frontier. As, however, they continued to make encroachments southwards, the new governor determined to take action against them.

The Ghoorkas, as these people were called, bade defiance to the English, and commenced hostilities. The English forces, under the command of Generals Gillespie and Ochterlony, advanced with upwards of 20,000 men.

The campaign was singularly unsuccessful. The Ghoorkas manfully defended Kalungah and Jythak, killing General Gillespie, and completely baffling Generals Ochterlony, Marley, and Wood. The commanders, with the exception of Ochterlony, appeared lamentably inadequate to the task assigned them; and their failure had the worst possible effect upon the sepoy regiments, who, accustomed as they had been to follow to victory the banner of England, drew an exaggerated picture of the power and skill of their enemy (1814-15).

Worse than this, it gave renewed encouragement to England's old enemies, Scindia and Holkar, and to the ever restless Pindarees. A combination of these princes was effected; and Ameer Khan, the Pindaree chief, and Runjeet Singh, took part in it. A considerable army marched to the Sutlej; but, fortunately, they paused here; for the campaign of 1815, under the skilful direction of Ochterlony and Colonel Gardener, had ended in the defeat of the Ghoorka arms, and caused them to sue for peace, which was willingly granted.

Unfortunately for the permanent establishment of peaceful relations, the treaty had been made without the assent of one of the principal parties concerned, namely, Ameer Khan. One of the most successful of the leaders in this war, he was by no means willing to consent to a cessation of hostilities; and, by his advice, the contest was renewed. The following year (1816) Ochterlony took the field again at the head of 17,000 men. His operations were so skilfully designed, and so vigorously carried out, that the Ghoorkas, in despair, made pacific overtures anew. By the treaty of Katmandoo, which followed (1816), the boundaries of their dominions were fixed; and since that time they have never been transgressed.

A conflict was now about to take place, which, although of comparatively short duration, surpassed in the magnitude of the proportions, and the extent of territory over which operations were conducted, any struggle in which the English arms had as yet been engaged. This was a dual warfare with the Pindarees, and the old

enemy of the British, the Mahrattas. The passive attitude of the English, at this time, had not unreasonably been misconstrued by the native chieftains of India generally. Lord Minto, it will be remembered, had carried on operations against the great Pindaree leader, Ameer Khan; but, as his action was paralysed by orders from head-quarters, these turbulent scourges of India had been left to pursue, with impunity, their depredations, and to disturb the peace of the land. At first they carefully avoided the states with which the Company had any connection; but, by-and-bye, emboldened by success, and encouraged by the attitude already spoken of, they began to carry their ravages into British territory. In 1812, they went farther, and hired themselves, as we lately saw, to the enemies of the British during the Ghoorka war. Under the leadership of Cheetoo and Kureem Khan, their ravages, this year, were incessant and beyond description atrocious. The mischief these depredators were able, and apparently determined, to work, was brought more immediately under the notice of the Company, when an irruption was made by them into the province of the Circars; and now, with British territory overrun by their hordes, they could no longer, with safety or honour, withhold that sanction of military operations which, had it been granted some years earlier, would have forestalled the present complications, and saved the land from many a scene of untold horror.

Anticipating orders from England, Lord Hastings hastened to mature his plans; and, in 1816, he concluded an alliance with Appa Sahib, the regent to the Rajah of Nagpoor, whose dominions lay between Malwar and the Circars. The adroitness of the Pindaree horsemen prevented the defence of that territory, and it was consequently ravaged from end to end. Preparations of an extensive character were, however, progressing; and by the end of the year 1817, upwards of 100,000 men, with an equally formidable display of artillery, were ready to take the field. The necessity for crushing them once and for ever, had determined the governor to prepare so im-

posing an array; and, considering the ubiquitous character of the foes with whom he would have to deal, their numbers and ferocity, and the extent of country over which the campaign must necessarily extend, the preparations were not too ample. Lord Hastings himself took chief command in the north; and he was supported by the veteran General Ochterlony. In the south was Sir Thomas Hislop, and in the west, General Kerr, who occupied Guzerat.

It was not, however, with the Pindarees alone that the governor had to deal. The attitude of the Mahrattas had again become menacing; and Lord Hastings was determined to bring matters to a crisis with them as with his other foes. By an adroit movement, he secured the neutrality of Scindia—whom he had every reason to believe was conspiring at the time with his enemies—and drew the sting of Ameer Khan by an offer of terms, far too tempting for refusal.

From what has already been said with regard to the character of the Mahratta polity, it will be readily understood that Scindia by no means represented the Mahratta nation; and that, consequently, no action of his was considered binding upon them as a people; neither did it in this case prevent their co-operation with the foes of England. The movement of the Peshwa, who had been established in his authority and supported by the English, had long been matter of solicitude with the governor. A more faithless, intriguing, double-faced creature never occupied that high position than Bajee Rao. His entire career, from his earliest appearance at the court of his namesake and predecessor, had been one of intrigue, perfidy, and double-dealing; and the protection hitherto afforded him by the British, was due rather to convenience than to a sense of respect for the man, or for the justice of his cause. Urged by the counsels of one Trimbukjee Dainglia, he had recently added ingratitude to the list of evil attributes with which he was endowed; and, while professing an undying friendship towards his benefactors, was making preparations to attack them.

Suspicion of his treachery was aroused, in the first instance, by the murder at Poona of Gunga Dhow, an envoy sent thither under British protection to settle a dispute that had arisen between the Peshwa and the Gaikwar; and his proceedings were therefore carefully watched by Mr. Elphinstone, who had reason to suppose that, in concert with Trimbukjee, he had been instrumental in the assassination of Gunga Dhow; and was, moreover, in active communication with the Mahratta chiefs and the Pindarees. The resolute action of the governor disconcerted his plans for a time; and, meanwhile, the Pindaree war went forward.

As an earnest of good faith, he was requested to surrender the person of Trimbukjee, and to deliver up his family as hostages. To these terms he acceded; but the same mystery hung about his proceedings as heretofore; and it became more than ever apparent that he was contemplating mischief. Under the pretence of performing some religious service, he gathered around him an escort of fighting men of most menacing proportions; and, with this force, he began to move steadily towards the British position at Poonah. Mr. Elphinstone remonstrated, and, at the same time, took the precaution to order up reinforcements. In self-defence this officer precipitated hostilities by ordering an attack on the Peshwa's forces. The Mahratta army, seized with a panic, quickly fled; and, although their numbers greatly preponderated, made no subsequent attack upon the British position; but, on the arrival of a brigade under General Smith, the whole army retired to Sattara. The Peshwa was followed in his flight; and, during the pursuit, the 1st Bombay Native Infantry, under Captain Staunton, greatly distinguished themselves by their gallant defence of Korygaom—an exploit which is remembered among the Mahrattas to this day.

The Peshwa now beheld with apprehension the British troops closing upon him from all sides. Disappointed of refuge in Korygaom, and hearing that his lieutenant, Bappo Gokla, had been defeated and slain in battle, he

made northwards, as if for Nagpoor, where Appa Sahib, now rajah, in conjunction with the Pindaree chief, Cheetoo, was ready to give him a friendly welcome. This prince, however, having made a treacherous attack upon the British troops, was splendidly repulsed at Seetabuldee in Nagpoor; and Appa at once renewed his professions of friendship, and surrendered the military control of his province to the English.

The Mahratta territory was now forcibly annexed to the British dominions—at least, that portion of it which owned the direct sway of the Peshwa, for the dominions of Holkar and the Rajah of Berar were for the present permitted to maintain their integrity. Events, however, had meanwhile been transpiring which rendered a transfer of the control, if not the confiscation of Holkar's dominions comparatively easy. Its great chieftain, Jeswunt Rao, had died; and his removal was the signal for a severe internecine strife. One of his illegitimate sons, Mulhar Rao, having been proclaimed his heir, he was supported in his title by Toolsee Bye, one of the mistresses of the deceased Jeswunt Rao; who, as Mulhar was still young, undertook the duties of regency. She was opposed by Ghufoor Khan, and the province was, for years, a scene of anarchy. The regent, in her perplexity, would fain have secured the support of the English; but the chiefs of the army were totally inimical to any such policy, and her troops were ultimately employed in the service of the Peshwa. The army of Holkar advanced to Mehidpoor, where they were confronted by the English forces under Sir Thomas Hislop and Sir John Malcolm. While here, Toolsee Bye was seized and barbarously murdered.

An ineffectual attempt having been made by the English commanders to come to terms with their enemy, their position at Mehidpoor was attacked, and gallantly carried; the entire army retreating and leaving behind them an abundance of military stores. Young Holkar subsequently submitted; and his dominions passed by treaty under the protection of Britain.

The Pindarees had not yet been finally disposed of.

Their forces were still in the field under Cheetoo, Kureem Khan, Ameer Khan, and Wasil Mahomed, the brothers of Dost Mahomed—though considerably crestfallen by reason of the unpropitious turn affairs had been taking. The former was supposed to be in league with Scindia, whose general, Jeswunt Rao Bhow, rendered him every possible assistance. This man was called to account and defeated by General Brown at Jawud; but, as it was shown that the Mahratta general had acted in defiance of his superior's orders, Scindia was not molested. Cheetoo's followers, harassed beyond measure by pursuing columns of the English, dropped off one by one; and he was at length forced to take refuge among the mountain fastnesses of Malwar. He is said to have been devoured by a tiger, which attacked him in a jungle near the Taptee (1818).

Kureem Khan and Wasil Mahomed were, in time, brought to bay, and ultimately fell into the hands of the English. The former, after escaping from Jawud, surrendered to Sir John Malcolm, and received favourable terms; the latter placed himself under the protection of Scindia, by whom he was given up to the English; and, disappointed subsequently in an attempt to escape, poisoned himself. Ameer Khan, following the example of his compatriots, sued for peace; and was, considering the trouble he had occasioned them, most liberally treated by the conquerors.

The Peshwa was still at large; but he too at length, hunted from place to place, till no rest was left him for the sole of his foot, applied to the British commanders for terms of peace. His enemies, thorough masters of the position, demanded an unconditional surrender of himself and the murderer Trimbukjee. This the Peshwa declined; and his firmness was eventually rewarded by the offer of terms which neither his career of perfidy and treachery deserved, nor the triumphant position of his enemies could have led him to expect. The struggle was now of short duration. Appa Rao, the rajah of Nagpoor, having broken faith with the English by assisting the

Peshwa in his endeavour to elude his English pursuers, was taken prisoner and brought to Allahabad. Hence he made his escape, and managed to maintain himself for some time amid the wilds of the Vindhya Hills; but his power to do mischief was shortly checked; and he eventually surrendered himself to the Rajah of Johdpoor. The reduction of Kandeish, which was brought about by the capture of Talnair and Malligaom, put an end to further resistance.

Thus ended the Pindaree and the Third Mahratta wars. Both were equally conducive to British interests. They, however, differed in this respect, that whereas, in the one case, by the forced flight of the Peshwa, and the capture of Sattara, an immense territorial increase was made to the Company's dominions; in the other, no further advantages accrued to the victors than that attending the break-up of a race of freebooters who had long been a scourge to Central India; whose proceedings were subversive of everything that was decent and orderly; and who, had they not been confronted by a hand that had the ability as well as the desire to strike, might have rendered the country a very Pandemonium. For this undertaking, therefore, Lord Hastings was furnished with the best of all possible pretexts, namely, the protection of the peace-loving, and the welfare of persecuted humanity.

The Mahratta dominions, divided into four portions, with a resident commissioner to each, were incorporated into the dominion of Bombay; and Mr. Elphinstone, appointed to this presidency (1819), was able to superintend the settlement of the affairs of that territory, to the successful annexation of which his wise counsels had, in no small degree, contributed. So widely spread a territory rendered a thorough supervision difficult; and for a time the foes of order were able to defy restraint, and to indulge their evil propensities by outrage and intrigue. The bulk of the Mahratta people, heartily weary of the lawlessness once so rife in their midst, hailed as a boon the change of masters; and, under the fostering influence of peace, and a wise and liberal administration, they gradually

lost the unenviable character their restlessness had secured them, and came to be one of the most peaceable, industrious, and law-abiding communities of the peninsula.

Lord Hastings was slow, indeed, to receive the due recognition of the service his vigorous policy had rendered to India and to England. The Court of Directors, though awarding him all credit for the brilliancy and success of his military undertakings, entirely disapproved the act of annexation as contrary to their orders, and to the spirit of the policy which they had so long endeavoured to pursue. Neither were they much better pleased with his schemes for the amelioration of the condition of the natives. Nevertheless, his perseverance in this direction, especially in that portion of his plans which related to education, contributed in no mean degree to the welfare and happiness of the people of India.

The administrative labours of Lord Hastings were happily not confined to the newly annexed territory, in which, be it remembered, he was largely assisted by the enlightened governor of Bombay. Under his wise supervision the financial affairs of the land were ably managed; for, notwithstanding the enormous expenses of the wars, an annual surplus was now declared, and the credit of the Company maintained. A great change had taken place in the character of Indian officials since the days of Clive and Warren Hastings. Little opportunity was now afforded for that system of peculation and extortion which was once the scandal of the age. India had come to be better understood, and its affairs were thus managed in accordance with the principles that should govern all well regulated states. To this satisfactory condition of things, the exertions of the present governor-general, no less than those of his immediate predecessors, had contributed.

CHAPTER XX.

LORD AMHERST'S ADMINISTRATION.

Resignation of Lord Hastings—His Reasons—Temporary Rule of Mr. Adam—Prosecution of Mr. Buckingham—Arrival of Lord Amherst—Arrogance of the King of Burmah—War Declared against the Burmese—Successes of Captain Campbell—Of the Burmese General, Bundoola—Mutiny of Sepoys—Capture of Donabew, and Death of Bundoola—Treaty of Yandaboo and Close of Burmese War—Bhurtpoor—Its Capture—Lord Amherst Quits India, and is succeeded by Lord William Bentinck.

IN 1821, after an administration of eight years, Lord Hastings tendered his resignation. He was induced to take this step through the scandal, rightly or wrongly, attaching to his name in the affair of the great Hyderabad banking-house of Palmer & Co. Not that by taking such a step he signified any complicity in this ugly transaction; but the suspicion to which he was subject, and the unrelenting opposition he experienced from the Calcutta court, had rendered his position anything but an enviable one. This affair of the bankers is regarded as the one great blot upon his otherwise benign and judicious reign. Its effects are said to be traceable in that portion of the country with which the transaction is more especially identified to this day; and, whether he was a party to it or not, the circumstance, as associated with his administration, will for ever be identified with his name.

Lord Hastings, though he had sent home his resignation so early as 1821, did not retire from the theatre of his triumphs till the beginning of the year 1823. He was temporarily succeeded in office by his most inveterate

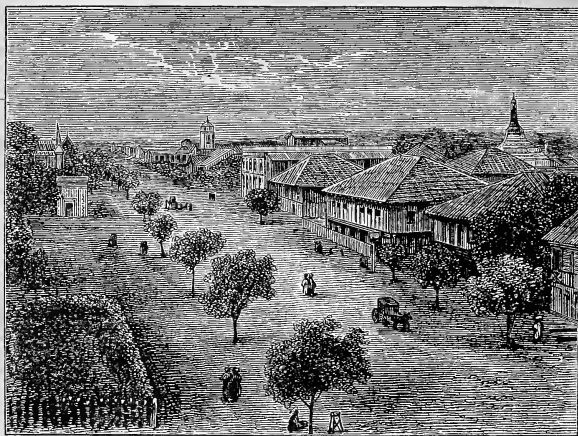
opponent at the council board, Mr. Adam, whose brief administration is marked by one event only—namely, the vindictive prosecution of a newspaper editor named Buckingham. The practical successor of Lord Hastings was Lord Amherst, whose Indian career began in 1823. He found plenty of employment to his hand in the threatening attitude of the Burmese, a people whose territory lay contiguous to the Company's dominions of Bengal.

So early as the year 1814, their king, under pretence of making a pilgrimage to the sacred city of Benares, had marched out of Ava, his capital, and encamped by the Brahmapootra upon the frontier of Bengal. This menacing position he maintained till the year 1818, when he despatched a peremptory order to the governor to surrender to him the eastern portion of Bengal as far as Bagrutty, with threats of coercion in case of a disregard of his mandate. The order, as a matter of course, was not complied with; indeed, the document was regarded as a counterfeit, and, therefore, no notice was taken of it.

The threat of the Burmese monarch, meanwhile, was not carried out. His territorial usurpations, however, were permitted to progress; and, before attempting an attack on Bengal, he seized upon the independent and contiguous state of Assam, and annexed it to his dominions. His proceedings, however, had been narrowly watched, and Lord Hastings was fortunately not unprepared for the contingency. He had good reason to shun a contest with this people if possible; for their country was difficult of invasion, and its climate not of the best, and he therefore had recourse to negotiation. But the Burmese sovereign, bent upon a quarrel, had promptly despatched a powerful force under his greatest general, Maha Bundoola, towards the Bengal frontier; and, the governor, having no alternative, at once issued a proclamation of hostilities (1824).

Everything pointed to the conclusion that this war with the Burmese would be no light undertaking; and so it proved. Finding that it was impossible, by reason of the alternation of wood and marsh land, which charac-

terises the eastern portion of Bengal, to enter the Burmese country landwards, an expedition was despatched thither by sea, under Captain Campbell, to Rangoon, at the mouth of the Irrawady. The place was taken, as was also Martaban, in Tenasserim; but here success for a time ended. The capture of Rangoon, however, had the effect of drawing off the Burmese general from Bengal, where he had greatly distinguished himself by driving in the various detachments of the British forces stationed to watch his movements; and, with an army of 60,000 men,



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he turned southwards to measure swords with the invaders of his country. The struggle now began in earnest. It opened somewhat favourably for the British, who, after carrying the stockaded positions of the enemy, forced him to withdraw. Other expeditions were not so favourable; and, to the embarrassment of the governor, some of the sepoy regiments, inspired with a needless dread, broke out into mutiny at Barrackpore.

The prompt action of Sir Edward Paget brought them back to their allegiance. The old routes which, from their

extremely irksome and hazardous character, had indirectly led to this spirit of insubordination, were abandoned, and operations were confined to the Irrawady. The main object of attack was the strong position of Donabew, which was defended by a garrison of 12,000 men under the direction of Bundoola himself. The first assault failed; but, upon the besiegers being reinforced by the main army under Sir Archibald Campbell, their efforts were more successful; for, having lost their commander, who was killed by the bursting of a shell, the Burmese garrison retreated, leaving their fortress, and also their stores in their enemy's hands.

An attempt was now made to bring about a cessation of hostilities; but the king, who still had an army of 50,000 men in the field, was not disposed to accept the terms offered him by Sir Archibald, and the war continued. Its ultimate issue, however, was a foregone conclusion. Sir Archibald's subsequent operations were attended with almost unvarying success, and the English forces soon reached Yandaboo, within a day or two's march of the capital. Hither the Burmese sovereign sent envoys to sue for peace (1815), which was granted him upon the condition of his ceding to the English the provinces of Assam, Arracan, and Tenasserim. The war had lasted two years; and while due tribute must be paid to the bravery of the enemy's troops, and to the skill of the Burmese commanders, the prolongation of the struggle was occasioned rather by natural obstacles and lack of foresight; and—extraordinary as it may appear—by the superstition of the Hindus, who considered their enemies to be possessed of supernatural powers, than by the resistance they met with from the enemy.

The Burmese were now quiescent; but Lord Amherst's task was not completed. The fortress of Bhurtpoor, it will be remembered, was associated with one of the most unfortunate failures in connection with British arms in India; and so baneful an effect had this failure upon the native tribes of the north, that, considering it to be an invulnerable stronghold, the disaffected had long intended

it as a rallying-point for opposition to British authority so soon as opportunity should present itself. The far-seeing mind of Sir David Ochterlony was perhaps the first to recognise the prevalence of such a sentiment, and he had taken measures to meet the danger it foreboded; but his sagacity was rewarded by most ungrateful treatment, and the design went on developing.

At length it transpired that 25,000 men, chiefly Jats, had rallied to the standard of the rajah of the place, and were prepared to measure their strength against the forces of the governor; and that the disaffected in the circumjacent territory were ready to join them in case of prospective success. Nothing now but a bold policy could meet this dangerous crisis; and Lord Combermere was forthwith despatched to operate against the rebels (1826). The fortress was considerably stronger than when its capture had before been attempted, and the heaviest guns seemed to make but little impression upon its formidable ramparts. By means of mining, however, a considerable breach was made in its walls; the place was stormed; and, after an obstinate fight of some hours, captured. The fortifications of Bhurtpoor were now levelled with the ground, and its destruction removed all apprehension of an extensive combination against English authority in these parts of the country.

Lord Amherst, who was rewarded for his services by being raised to the rank of an earl, spent the remainder of his time in visiting the provinces, and settling outstanding accounts with native princes. He left India early in 1828, and was succeeded as governor-general by Lord William Bentinck—Mr. Butterworth Bayley acting till the arrival of the newly appointed governor.

CHAPTER XXI.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.

Characteristics of Lord Bentinck's Administration—Fanaticism of the Mohammedans—Teetoo Meer—The Koles—Settlement of the Affairs of Oude—Of Hyderabad—Of Coorg—Meeting of Lord Minto with Runjeet Singh—Suppression of the Suttee—Measures against Infanticide—Suppression of Thugism—Miscellaneous Measures of the Governor—His Financial policy—Resignation of Lord Ellenborough—Provisional Government of Sir Charles Metcalfe—His Treatment:

THE administration of Lord William Bentinck, in its eminently peaceful character, presents a marked contrast to those of his predecessors; it is, however, none the less interesting on that account. Peace, as has often been remarked, has her victories as well as war; and the triumphs of the present governor-general were, in their way, as brilliant and decisive as any of the achievements that grace the names of Clive, Hastings, Wellesley, or Amherst. The process of conquest entails obligations which no prudent and enlightened state may with impunity or credit overlook; and it was well for India and for England that she now possessed a ruler who, perhaps, above all others, not only recognised these principles, but possessed likewise the courage and ability to act upon them. Fortunately, too, for the success of his measures, he had, in Sir Charles Metcalfe and other individuals, famous in the annals of Indian administration, coadjutors as fully alive to the dictates of justice and humanity as himself, and just as ready to obey them. The consequence was, that a system of judicial administration and financial and social reforms was undertaken, which, in their boldness and magnitude have never been surpassed.

The campaigns of his predecessors had been directed against a tangible enemy; and ultimate success, in consequence of that superiority which discipline ever gives, was always a foregone conclusion. The struggles of Lord Bentinck were on the other hand, with unseen, impalpable, and far more stubborn foes—the fanaticism, superstition, and deeply-rooted prejudices of the people, and the correction of widespread abuses. Much of his success, no doubt, is due to the quiet condition of the land upon his appointment; a happy state of things brought about by his predecessor's energetic policy. Still, the credit of the good effected is none the less his. A short-sighted politician may not have recognised the necessity of reform; a narrow-minded one might have circumscribed its scope; a less energetic ruler shunned the labour it demanded; a less resolute have shrunk from the responsibility of so revolutionary a policy, or sunk beneath the weight of opposition it entailed.

His measures, which gave him occupation for seven years, may be classed as political, judicial, financial, and social. There were now, as has been remarked, no visible enemies to subdue; for the brilliant successes which had attended the efforts of his predecessors had rendered any formidable opposition to British power impossible. Nevertheless, his reign was not entirely free from commotion. The storm, indeed, was over, and the wild dash of the billows had subsided; but the surface, so fiercely agitated by their fury had not yet settled down into perfect calm.

The attention of the governor was early directed (1831) towards the doings of certain Mohammedan fanatics in the north, who, under the leadership of a fakir named Teetoo Meer, had determined to wage war against all who were not of their creed; and following this resolve, had committed the most serious barbarities. This was no sooner put a stop to than a far more serious rising of the people known as the Koles, who inhabited western Bengal, took place (1832). An ignorant and lawless tribe, they were not disposed to settle quietly down under

that new order of things which British conquest had given rise to. Eventually, however, they were forced to submit to the power which had now brought almost all India beneath its sway; and the wisdom of the measures adopted for their subjugation, is seen in the prosperity which now reigns in their provinces.

The affairs of Oude and of Mysore and other native states likewise engrossed attention at this time; and the governor's policy in connection with those various nations forms the weakest point in his administration. His views were so eminently pacific, that non-interference was carried beyond the limits of prudence. The provinces referred to were shamefully misgoverned; and, although the right of the government to interfere had been established by previous treaty, no action was taken except to issue manifestos which appeared to be worth no more than the paper they were written upon. It was the same with Hyderabad in the nizam's dominions, whose government was in a condition thoroughly disreputable. With regard to Mysore, more prompt action was taken; but not till the extravagant conduct of its rajah had goaded the people into insurrection (1832).

With greater show of decision, indeed, the district of Coorg was invaded and annexed to the British dominions; but, as in the instance of Hyderabad, the conduct of its rajah, whose doings were made known by his own family, who had been compelled to flee beyond the reach of his atrocities, was so revolting, that no governor with Lord Bentinck's humanity could well withhold interference. This promptitude was not emulated in the case of Gwalior (1833) and Jeypoor (1835), at which latter place an English official lost his life in a factious quarrel.

The pacific policy of Lord Bentinck is strongly exhibited in his intercourse with Runjeet Singh, the great Sikh chieftain, of whom mention has been made in a former chapter. His object was to renew those mutual assurances of friendship and good-will which, since the treaty of Amritsur, made between him and Lord Minto, he had hitherto faithfully preserved; but which, unfor-

tunately, his ambition now seemed likely to interrupt. The interview between this prince and the British governor was as imposing as its importance demanded; and the success attending it was due, in no small degree, to the urbanity and address of the governor, and the adroitness he displayed in affecting a simple confidence in the integrity of the prince.

We now come to a feature of Lord Bentinck's administration, in which his energetic character is seen to much greater advantage, namely, his social and financial reforms. In consideration of the tenacity with which a people will hold on to its religious beliefs, and the sacrifices they are ever prepared to make upon their account, it is the true policy of an enlightened government to abstain from active interference with the modes of worship and religious ceremonies of the people who own their sway; and, to the honour of England it may be said that, excepting when the safety or comfort of the public has been compromised, or humanity shocked by the exercise of barbarous and revolting rites, she has ever loyally observed this liberal policy. Indeed, upon occasions, the principle has been pushed too far; and time was when not only was the Christian missionary discountenanced, but such ceremonies as the procession of the car of Juggernaut, whose ponderous wheels annually caused the streets of the cities to flow with blood, was countenanced and even supported by the British government.

Among the most revolting ceremonies connected with Hindu worship was the practice of the Suttee, as it was termed, whereby widows were expected to burn themselves upon the funeral piles of their husbands. The abolition of this barbarous practice had long been under the consideration of the various governors; but as yet none of them had seen their way towards effecting a reformation, till the humane mind of Lord Bentinck determined him to deal with it. It was supposed, and not unnaturally, that the process would be productive of consequences of the most serious nature; and the most consummate skill would be required in dealing with it. But, the difficulty

was boldly faced; and this outrage upon humanity disappeared—never, it is hoped, to be revived.

At the same time, a blow was struck at another, and a scarcely less revolting practice than the Suttee, namely, that of Infanticide. It had been the custom of the Hindus, from time immemorial, to destroy their female offspring at the birth, as an offering to the gods. The chief supporters of this iniquitous practice were the Rajpoots, among whom it was carried on to such an extent that not a single female was allowed to exist among them. The cherished desire of this people was, that they should be blest with male offspring; and the idea seems to have taken possession of their minds that every female child thus destroyed would return to them in the form of a son. The act of annihilation was generally performed in private; but when the propitiation of the gods was especially needed, the infant was given into the hands of the Brahmins to be solemnly sacrificed in the temple of Ganesa, in order that its presiding deity might intercede with his father Siva in behalf of the parents.

Attention had been already directed to this custom, and legislation tried; but hitherto with little effect. Registration of births was now rendered compulsory, and the practice declared to be murder. It may be doubted if, even with the adoption of such measures, the practice has entirely died out; but that it has been abolished in many districts, and in its great strongholds—the Rajpoot and neighbouring states—sensibly diminished, cannot be doubted.

The suppression of yet another revolting practice belongs also to the category of social reforms with which the administration of Lord Bentinck is identified, namely, that of the Thuggee. The Thugs were a Hindu sect scattered throughout India, whose choice avocation was the murder of travellers by strangulation. The barbarous practice took the form of a religious rite; and its devotees supposed themselves to be under the peculiar patronage of the goddess Kali. These miscreants pursued their bloody business with all that zeal which religion usually

imparts. Their method of proceeding was to hunt down their victims, strangle them unawares, mangle their bodies, and bury them. The plunder obtained they shared with their patron goddess, whom they never blamed for failure, nor charged with desertion when, upon being detected in their nefarious practice, they were condemned to undergo the penalty of death.

The existence of this horrible custom was not unknown to the authorities; but, inasmuch as its votaries were a secret society, the greatest difficulty was experienced in dealing with it. A certain fortuitous circumstance happened to furnish the governor with a knowledge of their association; and action was immediately taken which had the effect of stamping it out of the land. The members of the fraternity were one by one arrested. The leaders were punished in various ways, and the remainder settled as a peaceful community at Jubbulpore.

To Lord William Bentinck is owing the introduction of steam navigation into India, an institution which has been attended with untold advantages to the country. He likewise improved the condition of the natives by the introduction of the English language into the schools, and opened the public service to natives without distinction; and, in order that the country might enjoy the blessings conferred by a skilful practice of surgery and medicine, established (1835) a medical college in Calcutta.

The financial policy of Lord Bentinck was directed towards the curtailment of the Company's expenditure. The late wars had considerably swollen the Indian debt; and the need of retrenchment was so apparent to the directors, that the present governor had gone out specially pledged to a consideration of the question. With regard to the civil servants, the system of reduction was a comparatively easy process; with the military, it was quite another matter; for experience had shown how dangerous a thing it was to interfere with the privileges of the army. Among these privileges was that of *half batta*, as it was called, an allowance long enjoyed by the army, consisting of certain emoluments over and above their

usual pay. The Court of Directors had again and again issued instructions to the effect that the extra payments which passed under this name should be abolished; but up to the present time, no governor had been found bold enough to obey the commands of the court; and when, at length, Lord Bentinck yielded to the pressure, the entire military world was in commotion, so that it needed all the firmness of the governor to avert a serious calamity. The gain to the Company was eventually found to be scarcely worth the risk they had run.

Lord Bentinck resigned in 1834; and quitted India the following year. The duties of government were provisionally undertaken by Sir Charles Metcalfe, governor of the North-west Provinces. The Indian career of this gentleman had been one of long and trusty service; and his temporary reign is distinguished by the passing of an act which gave real freedom to the press of the country. The measure, however, was so offensive to the Court of Directors, that it was the means of putting an end to a career of usefulness, and of depriving India of one of her foremost benefactors. The displeasure of the directors was evinced by their refusal to appoint him to the presidency of Madras; whereupon he retired from the country, and took service under the crown as governor of Jamaica.

CHAPTER XXII.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD AUCKLAND.

Mission of Lieutenant Burnes—Jealousy of Russia—Siege of Herat—Proclamation of Shah Suja—Outbreak of the Afghan War—Capture of Ghuznee—Flight of Dost Mahomed—Shah Suja enters Cabul—Exhibitions of Discontent—Assassination of Sir Alexander Burnes—Critical Position of the British—Assassination of Mr. Macnaughton—Retreat of the Troops—Slaughter of the Khyber Pass—Heroic Defence of Jellalabad by General Sale.

THE virtual successor of Lord William Bentinck was Lord Auckland, who assumed the reins of government in the spring of 1836. His reign, which opened with much promise, is marked by one of the most inglorious struggles with which the British name is associated, namely, the disastrous Afghan war.

So early as the year 1831, Lieutenant Burnes, an enterprising young officer, and an Oriental scholar of no mean order, had been despatched by Lord Auckland's predecessor on a friendly mission to Cabul. For certain reasons, he was favourably received by the Ameer, who gave him every facility for carrying out the main design of his visit, namely, the survey of the country; so that when he returned, it was with a mind stored with such a knowledge of the topography and resources of the country, as might prove of the utmost benefit in extending the commercial intercourse of England.

It would have been well, perhaps, had the observations of this envoy been confined to a mere survey. Unfortunately, however, he had obtained a peep into the politics of the Ameer's court; and had conceived an exaggerated notion of Russian influence and aims in this region. The

idea of a Russian invasion of India by way of this ancient trade-route, was by no means a new one; and her movements were watched with keen interest both at Calcutta and in London. The reports of this envoy served to strengthen the impression. Nevertheless, the overtures of Dost Mahomed for an alliance were persistently disregarded by the governor-general; and the dreaded Europeans were permitted, in alliance with Persia and the chiefs of Kandahar, to lay siege to the important fortress of Herat.

The skill of its defender, Mr. Pottinger, prevented its capture; but matters had become so serious that they could not longer be abandoned to chance. The energy of the governor was thoroughly aroused; and he was determined to act upon the offensive. There was at this time living at Ludiana an exile, named Shah Suja, who, long before, had been deposed from his position as sovereign of Cabool by the present Ameer, Dost Mahomed. With him and the Maharajah Runjeet Singh, Lord Auckland now entered into an understanding, the basis of which was the re-establishment of the former upon the throne of Afghanistan, and the confirmation of the latter in the possession of Peshawar, which province he had wrested from Dost Mahomed (1837).

Meanwhile, Dost Mahomed, despairing of an English alliance, with regret dismissed Lieutenant Burnes, intending to make overtures to Russia. The step about to be taken by the English governor was an unjustifiable one, and merited the signal ill-fortune with which it was attended. The English had no grounds whatever for interference in the concerns of Afghanistan; and the only excuse that the promoters of such an undertaking could offer was that of expediency. The truth is, that both in India and England, a notion was prevalent that Russia must by-and-bye be met either here or upon the plains of India; and the present policy followed from a desire to secure the more convenient of these alternatives.

One of the finest armies ever equipped in India was assembled under the command of General Fane. and

marched to Ferozepore, there to join that of Runjeet Singh. While, however, the English commander and the Maharajah were occupied in an exchange of brilliant compliments, the threatened danger was averted; for the Russians, thwarted in their designs upon the Persian coast, had retired, and were retreating upon Siberia. There was now, therefore, sufficient excuse for Lord Auckland to retrace his steps; and had he been left to his own counsels, the step might have been taken. But the present policy had been advocated by some of the highest military authorities of the kingdom; and the nation in general, at least such as gave their mind to the contemplation of Indian affairs, approved it; and the expedition went forward.

After meeting with considerable opposition from the Ameers of Scinde, for which they were visited with a terrible retribution, the united armies of Bengal and Bombay, under the command of Sir John Keane, crossed the Indus; and, after marching through some miles of waste land, reached the formidable mountain system of the country. The territory was entered by way of the Bolan and Kojuk Passes, and Shah Suja, pressing forward unopposed, took possession of Kandahar. The English army had halted for awhile; and, when in a position to do so, the troops resumed their march, and the entire force pressed onward for Cabul. In its way lay Ghuznee, the capital of Mahmoud's ancient kingdom, with its formidable lines of fortifications; and this there was no means of avoiding. No serious opposition had been anticipated, and, in consideration of the nature of the country to be traversed, the army was unprovided with the necessary materials for a siege. The experiment of blasting was therefore tried; and with such success that considerable breaches were effected in the walls, and the place was gallantly carried at the point of the bayonet.

Meanwhile, the troops of the Maharajah and other contingents were making a triumphal forward march; and Dost Mahomed, scared by the formidable array of his enemies, expressed his willingness to come to terms. The

conditions of his adversaries were too hard for his acceptance, and he chose flight to submission. A column was sent in pursuit of the fugitive; and, in the meantime, Shah Suja made a triumphant entry into Cabul.

To gain for their protégé a throne was one thing; to answer for the loyalty of his subjects was, however, quite another. It was thought that, as the power of Dost Mahomed had been broken by the capture of his fortresses, and the dispersion of his troops, no material resistance would be offered to the sway of Shah Suja; and, impressed with this notion, the greater portion of the troops were ordered back to India. It is indeed difficult to conceive what might have been the result had the entire force been withdrawn, and Shah Suja left to his own resources.

The Afghans, far from being a homogeneous nation, were composed of a number of clans, each owning a chief whose allegiance to the Ameer of Cabul was a very nominal one indeed. In such a condition of society, it usually matters but little who may fill the office of lord paramount, provided only the position be obtained by means which the crude understandings of the people would interpret as legitimate; and had Shah Suja regained his lost inheritance by the argument of his own good sword it is more than probable that the various chieftains would have recognised accomplished facts, and given him their fealty. This, however, was not the case. Their recognised sovereign had been first spurned, then dethroned, and driven into exile by a foreigner's hand who had espoused the newly-created monarch's cause, not for the purpose of delivering the land from the trammels of a despot, but for political considerations of their own; and the country, occupied by an alien army, presented the unwelcome aspect of a conquered land.

The contemplation of the first was galling enough, the thought of the second unbearable; and the country, in consequence, became a scene of turmoil from end to end. Of these expressions of ill-will, Dost Mahomed was not slow to take advantage. Prompt action, however, checked rebellion; and the deposed Ameer, utterly

unsuccessful, was induced to tender his submission. There was, however, one who was not so disposed to submit—his son Akbar. This prince, taking up a position amid the mountain fastnesses of his country, gathered to his standard all who, like himself, chafed under the domination of the foreigners, and vowed their extermination.

In the year 1841, or two years after the establishment of Shah Suja upon the throne, it was known to all who carefully watched the progress of events in this quarter, that the country was upon the eve of a serious rebellion. Cabul was fast filling with armed men; and expressions of impatience and discontent were everywhere loud and general. It is painful to contemplate the blindness with which the official mind at this time seems to have been smitten. Warnings were spurned, information disregarded; a high-handed and parsimonious policy pursued with regard to those whose adherence was necessary to the maintenance of their position, and even the very safety of their own persons; and a thorough lack of those preparations for emergencies that should, in view of their equivocal position, have occupied a first place in their consideration. They imprudently surrendered the Bala Hissar which had given them command of the city; offended the Kyberies, through whose difficult and dangerous country they would have to pass in the event of retreat; offered unpardonable indignities to the native chieftains; dismissed the bulk of their forces; and gave command of the residue to General Elphinstone, a man entirely unfitted through age and infirmity to act in any case which might require decision and energy.

The crisis came. Sir Alexander Burnes, the great advocate of the undertaking, and a most unpopular man with the Afghans, was the earliest victim; and his murder was the signal for a general rising in the city. The king's troops, which were sent against the insurgents, had to retire with loss; and so formidable a front did the rebels by-and-by present, that it was found necessary to recall the troops that had been despatched homewards. Few came; for the incessant assaults of the Afghan foes, and

the snows of winter, had combined to interpose an impassable barrier to their movements; and the British troops who had encamped in the plain country around the city, suffering fearfully from cold and hunger, were thus abandoned to their own resources.

An attempt was made by Mr. Macnaughton, the envoy, to negotiate; but the terms offered by the chieftains were too preposterous for his acceptance; and it was therefore plain that a death-struggle was imminent. Nevertheless, the governor was minded to make one more effort in the direction of peace. Akbar was by this time the acknowledged head of the Afghan confederacy; and to him Mr. Macnaughton now turned with the view to a settlement. The crafty Afghan, while expressing his willingness to treat with the British envoy, intended to pursue a course of double-dealing; and the upshot was the treacherous assassination of Mr. Macnaughton by Akbar's own hand.

No attempt was made to avenge this injury; and the rebels, gaining greater confidence from the quiescent policy of their enemy, increased their demands. Nevertheless their conditions were agreed upon, indeed there was no help for it; and the British army, which numbered some 5000 fighting men, and twice that number of camp followers, set forth on its way back to India. Its fate is well known. Overcome by cold, hunger, and fatigue, and perpetually harassed by the merciless attacks of the mountain tribes, the entire army perished amid the defiles of the Khyber Pass. The columns which had previously been despatched homewards, and which, as has been remarked, were past recall, met, on the whole, with better success. General Holt maintained his position at Kandahar, and General Sale, having thrown himself into the ruined fortress of Jellalabad, maintained for many months a gallant defence against the assaults of Akbar Khan, till relief was brought him by General Pollock. This defence of Jellalabad forms the most brilliant and glorious episode connected with this unfortunate undertaking.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

Continuation of the Afghan War—Advance of General Pollock—Apprehensions regarding the Safety of the Captives—Opposition offered by Akbar—Recovery of the Captives—Withdrawal of the British Forces from Cabul—Close of the War—Quarrel with the Rajah of Gwalior—With the Ameers of Scinde—Defeat of Beloochees at Meanee—Victory of Dubba—Close of the Struggle.

LORD AUCKLAND had, meanwhile, been superseded by Lord Ellenborough. A man of great decision, he resolved to make an energetic movement for the relief of our countrymen from the perilous position in which they were placed. A feeble attempt of the kind had been made by his predecessor; but, inasmuch as it *was* feeble, it failed. A considerable force was now placed under the command of General Pollock, who, carrying the fortifications of the terrible Khyber Pass, brought relief to General Sale; while another column under General English, proceeding by way of the Bolan Pass, performed a similar service in behalf of General Nott.

Successful thus far, nothing stood in the way of an immediate advance upon Cabul. But, at this point, it appeared as if the decision of the new governor were about to desert him; for a retrograde movement was in contemplation; and it seemed highly probable that the hostages which had been left with Akbar would be abandoned to their fate. Fortunately for the welfare of these poor creatures, and for the honour of England, wiser counsels prevailed; and Generals Pollock and Nott, on whom the command devolved, were permitted to go forward upon their errand of mercy.

The safety of these hostages was necessarily matter for grave apprehension. The British generals might march in triumph upon the capital and throw down the walls of the prison that confined them; but, what if its occupants were gone! Akbar, indeed, had gone so far as to declare that, unless the British forces were withdrawn and Jellalabad given up, they should be removed, and their locality remain a secret. Moreover, Cabul was even yet a scene of bloodshed and confusion. Shah Sujāh was no more, and faction fights and assassinations were of perpetual occurrence within its streets. Might they not perish during one of these movements; or by the order of Akbar himself for the matter of that!

Such considerations, however, did not cause the British commanders to swerve from their determination to make a forward advance (1842). General Pollock's progress was opposed by Akbar; and, upon a field strewn with remains of the victims of the late unfortunate retreat, Briton and Afghan again crossed swords. Victory crowned our arms, and the road to the capital was open. The Bala Hissar was occupied, and here General Pollock's division was joined by the brigade of General Nott, who like him, had overcome all opposition to his progress.

The object of their march, however, had not yet been accomplished. Akbar had carried out his threat with regard to the removal of his prisoners from Cabul. Fortunately, their destination was discovered; and pursuit was immediately resolved on. By the employment of bribes, the commander of their escort was gained over; and they were in time surrendered and brought back to the quarters of Sir Robert Sale. There were thirty-two in all—thirteen women and nineteen children; and among them the wife of the heroic defender of Jellalabad, Lady Sale.

The mission of General Pollock and his brethren in arms was now ended; and as there was no reason to linger in this unfriendly country, the troops prepared to withdraw. After setting fire to the bazaar of Cabul, destroying Ghuznee, and laying waste the territory of certain restless tribes, the countermarch began. The

movement was unaccompanied by any incident of importance. Desultory attempts were, of course, made by the tribes to harass the troops; but the opposition as a whole was feeble, and the army soon found itself within the more friendly confines of the Punjaub territory. The family of the deceased Shah Sujah, having placed themselves under British protection, had accompanied the English forces (1842).

Two miserable quarrels followed this inglorious expedition into Afghanistan, one with the Rajah of Gwalior, and the other with the Ameers of Scinde, a tribe who inhabited the country watered by the lower course of the Indus. The former arose out of a dispute concerning the regency of the dominions of Scindia. Junkoojee Rao Scindi died (1843); and, leaving no issue, it was necessary to appoint a sovereign in his stead. For political reasons, the hold of the British upon this important Mahratta state was desirable; and the governor consequently took part in the election. The heat of faction was high, and the British troops were called up to maintain order.

Now, the Mahratta army of Gwalior was one of the finest in India, and this importation of British troops was taken as a grave insult; and the governor soon experienced the effects of his policy in the refusal of the authorities to execute his orders. The army of Scindia, indeed, was preparing to measure swords with the English should they attempt to occupy their territory, and this Lord Ellenborough was determined to do. The hostile forces met at Maharajpore. The Mahratta position was stormed and carried, and Gwalior submitted. Beyond the necessity which the governor might have seen for the unlimited control of a state having a most formidable military force, there seems to be little excuse for this paltry, though, to some extent, brilliant contest.

The quarrel with the Ameers arose from a different cause. During the Afghan war, the attitude of the Ameers had been in the highest degree friendly; and to this fact is due, in no small measure, the success of General Pollock's undertaking. So far from receiving a meet

recognition of their friendly services, they were most shabbily dealt with.

Since the conclusion of the Afghan war, a treaty had been entered into with Dost Mahomed concerning the free navigation of the Indus. Now, as this river runs through the territory of the Ameers, its navigation by foreign steamers was a matter of great concern to them; and, though made parties to the treaty, a sense of helplessness alone forbade their offering a sturdy opposition to its clauses. When, however, they began to feel the territorial and financial losses which it entailed, their sentiments were soon made known; and, in concert with certain Beloochee chieftains, they attacked the house of Sir James Outram in Hyderabad, and its owner barely escaped with his life.

A conflict was now inevitable; and Sir Charles Napier advanced with an army, and met the Beloochees at Meanee. After an obstinate and bloody struggle, they were defeated, and Hyderabad was occupied. A subsequent victory at Dubba, near Hyderabad, terminated one of the most disreputable conflicts in which it has been the misfortune for British arms to engage. The conduct of our countrymen provoked the war, and nothing but an unquestioned right to lord it over the whole Indian peninsula could justify the proceedings that occasioned it. It might have been dictated by a sense of self-preservation; for threatening storm-clouds were without doubt hanging over northern India; and when, in 1845, the tempest broke in all its fury over the Punjaub, the strategic value of this territory became apparent.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ADMINISTRATION OF SIR HENRY HARDINGE.

Unsatisfactory Condition of the Punjaub—Ambitious Schemes of the Sikh Chieftains—The Sikhs unexpectedly cross the Sutlej—Sir Hugh Gough Engages the Enemy at Moodkee—Death of Sir Robert Sale—Desperate Battle at Ferozeshah—Sir Harry Smith defeats the Enemy at Aliwal—Defeat of the Sikhs with great slaughter at Sobraon—Annexation of Sikh Territory to the British Dominions—Treaties with Gholab and Dhuleep Singh—Treatment of Lall Singh.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH was recalled early in 1844, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Hardinge. The new governor-general was a tried soldier; and had, at Vimiera, Albuera, Vittoria, Salamanca, and other memorable fields of the Peninsular war, earned laurels enough to content the most ambitious of military leaders; and there was therefore every desire on his part to obey the standing injunctions of the India Board and let the land have rest. But he had fallen upon troublous times. The Sikhs, whose movements since the death of the great leader, Runjeet Singh, in 1839, had been an object of solicitude, now demanded the greatest possible vigilance and diplomatic skill. The alliance between our countrymen and these warlike tribes had never been cordial. Runjeet Singh, while he lived, observed faithfully the covenant of Amritsur; but it is doubtful how far his adherence to the terms of the treaty was dictated by a desire for friendly relations; and certainly the semi-barbarous chiefs, who acknowledged his sway, made little secret of their antipathy to the alliance. His death, then, removed the only bond of union existing between his countrymen and their European allies, and it soon became apparent to

every one, as it had long been to those who had watched the affairs of Northern India, that, sooner or later, our countrymen must cross bayonets with these their allies.

An era of comparative disorder in the Punjab followed the death of Runjeet Singh. His son and grandson successively occupied the throne; but their reigns were of short duration; and as there was no hereditary representative to follow, the affairs of state were administered first by one adventurer and then another, till power fell at length into the hands of the ranee, Chand Koowur, an abandoned woman, Lall Singh, her unprincipled paramour, and Tej Singh, the commander-in-chief of the forces. The army had from various causes become well-nigh uncontrollable. Their pay had fallen into arrears, and as the public treasury was exhausted, there was no remedy at hand. A way out of the difficulty at length presented itself to these unprincipled rulers in the invasion of British territory, inasmuch as they thought by such a move to gratify a popular desire, and to secure an abundance of spoil whereby the demands of the troops might be satisfied—for of victory they were never for a moment doubtful.

The troops themselves, however, either because they were less sanguine than their leaders, or because they had interpreted the motives of their rulers aright, refused at first to advance. When at length they did obey the order, a force of 100,000 fighting men, the bravest and best disciplined army perhaps that had trodden the soil of India, appeared upon the banks of the Sutlej (1845). The consequences might have been serious indeed, but for the precautions taken by Lord Ellenborough. That prudent statesman had, in anticipation of such an emergency without exciting suspicion, succeeded in massing 40,000 troops upon the Lahore frontier. The movements of the Sikh army, however, were conducted with such consummate celerity and promptitude, that no resistance could be offered to their passage of the river. Sir Hugh Gough, the commander-in-chief was at Umballah when he heard of the movement. Without delay, he set off with all the troops he could muster, and by forced

marches, arrived at Moodkee. Here he met the enemy in force under Lall Singh, and a desperate battle ensued, which cost the English nearly a thousand men, among whom, unfortunately, was the gallant Sir Robert Sale. The enemy, however, defeated, withdrew to their entrenched camp at Ferozeshah.

This position it was next determined to attack; and on the 21st December, having been joined by the troops of Sir John Littler and General Gilbert, the assault was made. The governor-general was present during the action, which commenced late in the afternoon. The plan of attack was injudicious; and, notwithstanding the heroic efforts of the troops, only a small portion of the works were captured ere night set in; and the combatants, resting upon the scene of their operations, assailants and assailed lay all night in close proximity to each other. The night was intensely cold, and a desultory fire from the Sikh batteries aggravated the discomfort of the situation.

At length morning came, to witness a renewal of the bloody conflict. The Sikhs fought desperately; but they, nevertheless, had to succumb to the continued and vigorous assaults of their adversaries; and the battle was already won for the English, when reinforcements for the Sikhs unexpectedly arrived, and the action was resumed. By this time our troops were thoroughly exhausted; and it was with sore despondency that they beheld the approach of this new enemy. Fortunately, their apprehensions were not verified. The Sikh commander at once ordered an attack upon the British lines. The movement had commenced, when a sudden panic seemed to seize the troops, and they retreated in disorder, leaving their enemy masters of the field. Victory in this, the most desperate and bloody encounter that India had as yet witnessed, was of untold value to the English; for had the efforts of our countrymen ended in defeat, the consequences might have been serious indeed.

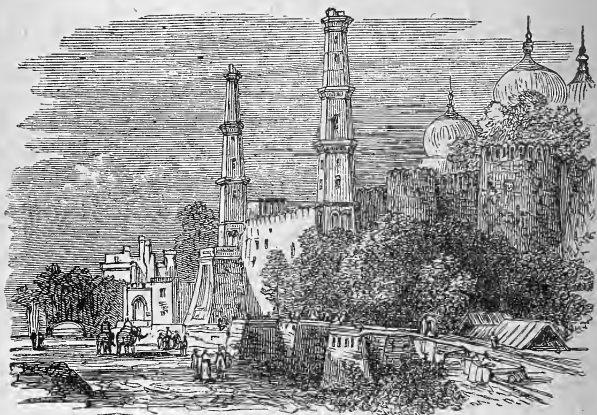
There were, however, other battles to be fought; for the Sikhs, though baffled and crippled, had not lost hope.

Rallying under Runjoor Singh, they advanced in considerable force against the important position of Ludiana farther up the river. Sir Harry Smith was at once detached to reinforce the garrison. The enemy lay at Aliwal; and, being joined by the garrison of Ludiana, Sir Harry advanced to attack them there. A brilliant engagement ensued in which the Sikh squadrons were handsomely broken by the vigorous onset of the British cavalry; and the army, quitting the field, crossed the Sutlej in great haste.

The battle of Aliwal was followed by that of Sobraon, where the Sikhs, under the superintendence of European engineers, had constructed a formidable line of works which were a menace to the British position at Ferozepoor. This, the most decisive action of the war, was also the sharpest, most brilliant, and—so far as the enemy were concerned—the most sanguinary. The fortifications were carried by a grand assault, and the enemy, retiring before the advance of the assailants, essayed to cross the river. The guns which had been found useless for siege purposes, were now brought to bear upon the retiring columns, and were plied with such effect, that thousands of the fugitives were shot down—their corpses literally choking the channel of the river. The British loss was likewise severe, amounting to some 3000 in killed and wounded.

This victory opened for the British the road to Lahore, which was forthwith entered. Sir Henry Hardinge might now have added the entire Punjaub to the dominions of Britain. He was, however, much more moderate in his exactions. The Sikh territories on the right bank of the Sutlej, together with the Jullundur Doab, was the only territory demanded by the terms of the treaty concluded between the victors and the vanquished. Other clauses gave Cashmere over to Gholab Singh in consideration of the payment of a military subsidy; and arrangements were made with the youthful Maharajah Dhuleep Singh—a reputed son of Runjeet Singh, concerning taxation, and the nature of the army he was henceforth to be permitted to

maintain. An army of occupation was left behind; and the British troops returned, bearing with them 250 pieces of captured cannon which they were careful to display to the natives as an indisputable evidence of their success.



THE ENTRY INTO LAHORE.

Thus ended the great and well-nigh disastrous First Sikh War. Its chief author, Lall Singh, was more generously dealt with than his perfidy had warranted, being permitted to retain his office as minister, till his mischievous doings again threatened the tranquillity of the country, when he was tried, deposed, and banished the Punjab.

CHAPTER XXV.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD DALHOUSIE.

Movements of Moolraj—Outbreak of the Second Sikh War—Siege of Moulton—Shere Ally deserts to the Enemy—Battle of Ramnugger—Chillianwallah—Goojerat—Close of the War, and Annexation of the Punjaub—Sattara Annexed—Sir Charles Napier arrives in England—Sir Charles' Measures opposed by the Governor-general—Outbreak of the Second Burmese War—Annexation of Pegu—Settlement of the Affairs of the Nizam's Dominions—The Case of Palmer's Banking-house—Lord Dalhousie's Annexation Schemes—The Kingdom of Oude—Review of Lord Dalhousie's Administration.

SIR HENRY HARDINGE who, with the other heroes of the late war, had received due recompense from their sovereign, returned to England in 1848, and the duties of government passed into the hands of Lord Dalhousie. India was now quiet; and the military and financial reforms of his predecessor had been so comprehensive, that little fear was entertained of an interruption of this desirable condition of things.

Short time elapsed, however, before these visions of peace were dispelled, and the Sikhs had to be dealt with anew. Moolraj, a Sikh chieftain had, for some cause or other, notwithstanding his known ambition and power to work evil, been left in possession of his dominions, in which stood the important fortress of Moulton. He had, it appeared, agreed to pay a military subsidy; and, on being pressed for it, had taken refuge in sham negotiations. His intentions were from the very first suspected; but no adequate measures were taken for their frustration; and at length two British envoys, Mr. Agnew and Lieut. Anderson, were brutally murdered in the city by his

order. This act was, of course, regarded in the light of a challenge, and preparations were accordingly made to answer it. They were, however, so tardily carried on, and so manifestly inadequate, that the stamp of failure marked the undertaking from its very outset.

Before the arrival of the main army, Lieut. Edwardes and other officers, acting on their own responsibility, had earned great renown by their promptitude and spirit, having already invested the stronghold of Moultan and defeated Moolraj in several engagements. The force now before that city numbered upwards of 30,000 men of all arms—an imposing force indeed. It was, however, anything but homogeneous; and the defences were remarkably strong. The siege operations had scarcely begun, when the magnificent army of the assailants was considerably modified by the desertion of Shere Ally to the enemy. This and other causes determined the commander to await reinforcements from Bombay. The delay was highly injudicious. The whole Punjaub was strewn with combustibles; and it required only the spark of failure to set it ablaze. The ranee had renewed her intrigues, and the Sikh chieftains, at whose entreaties an army of occupation had been left in Lahore, expressed their anxiety for renewed warfare with their conquerors. To make matters worse, the kindling spark alluded to was not wanting. Moultan, indeed, fell; but the protracted character of the siege served in no small degree to injure the prestige of our countrymen, and to encourage their enemies.

The Sikh forces now rallied to the standard of Shere Singh and his father, Chutta Singh, and prepared for action. Meanwhile, the commander, though tardy in his movements, had not been idle. A considerable force was got together which, in November, found itself face to face with the army of Shere Singh at Ramnugger, upon the left bank of the Chenaub. Here a series of indecisive actions, chiefly cavalry engagements, ensued; and Shere Singh eventually retired. It was only, however, for the purpose of taking up fresh ground.

The spot chosen was Chillianwallah, a position of considerable strength, and one which, with 30,000 men at his command, the Sikh commander ought successfully to have defended. Hither he was, after considerable delay, followed by Sir Hugh Gough, and an encounter occurred which eclipsed in its ferocity and carnage the fight of Sobraon—but, unfortunately, lacking its decisive character. The Sikh positions were, indeed, one after another captured; but the troops were unable to occupy them, and, during the night, the enemy recaptured the guns that had been with great difficulty taken from them in the day's fight.

Meantime, the siege of Moultan had been dragging on its slow length. About the end of January 1849, however, just after the action at Chillianwallah, the place fell; and General Whish, who had conducted the operations, forthwith hastened to join Sir Hugh Gough. Shere Singh, aware of this movement, immediately set out to intercept him.

He failed to execute his purpose, and the junction was consequently effected. The British commander now found himself at the head of 20,000 men. Opposed to him, Shere Singh, considerably reinforced, commanded 50,000; and another and yet a bloodier engagement was anticipated. Taught by experience, Sir Hugh Gough resolved to employ his artillery more freely; for, in his recent actions, he had thought too little of this effective arm. It was soon evident to the British commander that Shere Singh, who now lay at Goojerat, was endeavouring to elude him, and contemplated making a wild dash into British territory. Sir Hugh therefore decided upon attacking his enemy without delay. The result of the action belied all expectation. The Sikh guns were quickly silenced; and the infantry, rushing up to their entrenchments, carried them one by one. Abandoning their position, the Sikh infantry fled with precipitation, followed by the cavalry of their victorious antagonists. The victory of Goojerat—well-nigh bloodless on the side of the English, a frightful slaughter on that of their enemy—decided the fate of the

Punjaub. Shere Singh, pursued and run to earth by General Gilbert, delivered up his sword to that officer within a fortnight of the victory of Goojerat; and the other Sikh chieftains following his example, the British had now no enemy beyond the Sutlej who could give them any serious trouble. The second Sikh war added the Punjaub to the extensive possessions of Britain in India; and thus the Indus and the Soliman Mountains became the actual—as they are the natural—western boundary of British India.

A three years' peace followed the second Sikh war; and this leisure was employed by the governor-general in settlement of the affairs of the newly-acquired province, and in bringing Sattara, the last remnant of the ancient dominions of Sivajee, beneath the English sway. The independence of this Mahratta state had been established at the close of the Mahratta war in 1819, when its rajah, released from the confinement in which the Peshwa had kept him, was placed by British authority upon the throne. For prudent reasons, it had subsequently been found necessary to dethrone him, and to confer the honour upon his brother. In 1848, the rajah died without issue; and, although the deceased prince had adopted an heir, the arrangements were set aside by the government, and Sattara henceforth ceased to exist as a separate and independent dominion.

But the period above referred to is more especially marked by the attention given to the military concerns of the country. The news which reached England concerning the progress of the Sikh war had given rise to considerable alarm; for, without attaching sufficient importance to the numbers, discipline, and bravery of the enemy with whom our countrymen had to deal, the loss of life and comparative failure attending Sir Hugh Gough's operations were laid to a widespread disaffection which was supposed to predominate in the ranks of the army; and Sir Charles Napier was forthwith despatched to take the command in chief. Long ere he set foot upon Indian soil, however, the brilliant victory of Goojerat had

decided the question, so far as the Punjaub was concerned; but there was work for him to do within the pale of the Bombay army. The fears entertained in England regarding the spirit at work among the Sepoy soldiery, were by no means groundless. Instances of insubordination, and even open mutiny, had occurred ever since the Afghan war; and causes were in operation which were likely to aggravate the disaffection of which these occurrences were the exponents.

Sir Charles, with his usual decision, at once adopted a series of vigorous measures; and had his operations been untrammelled, the main object of his mission might have been accomplished, and the tragedy of 1857 averted. As it was, he managed to offend the governor-general; and a long and acrimonious paper warfare was maintained between these two distinguished officials, prejudicial to the interests of the nation. The contest ended in favour of Lord Dalhousie, who had received the support of the government; and, in 1851, Sir Charles resigned office.

The three years' peace alluded to was disturbed (1851) by the conduct of the Burmese. The treaty of Yandaboo, which followed the late war with Burmah, had been chiefly made in the interests of the commercial world. The Burmese, unfortunately, had failed in observing its terms; and the complaints of British merchants had been loud and long. Remonstrance served only to make matters worse; and the governor-general, having no alternative left him but prompt action, despatched Captain Lambert with a man-of-war to Rangoon to demand satisfaction. The British flag was, however, insulted; and the governor became aware that there could be no settlement of the difficulty without an appeal to arms.

In the spring of 1852, a force was equipped at Madras, which sailed for Rangoon. Operations were begun by the siege and capture of Martaban; and this was followed by the reduction of Rangoon itself, which, after a brave defence, was carried by storm. The capture of Bassein, Pegu, and Prome followed in due course; and the operations were, for a time, suspended, through need of

reinforcements. A desperate attempt was made in the meantime to retake Pegu; but the place was well defended by Major Hill, who gallantly stood his ground until relieved by a column under General Godwin, when the besiegers retired from the province. With this retreat of the Burmese army from Pegu, the contest virtually ended.

The immediate consequence of the war was to transfer to British dominions the province of Pegu—which operation was fortunately effected at the earnest request of the inhabitants. Many difficulties at first stood in the way of the execution of a treaty, but, a revolution having occurred in the Burmese capital, the king was deposed, and a brother of his, more ready than he had been to recognise accomplished facts, was placed upon the throne. After some hesitation, the new monarch was induced to sign a covenant making over the province to the conquerors (1853). It is now the most orderly and prosperous of the whole trans-Gangetic provinces of India.

The affairs of certain Indian provinces had long been matter of solicitude with all parties concerned; and a settlement had by this time become matter of urgent necessity. This was especially the case with the nizam's dominions, whose capital city was Hyderabad. In order to understand rightly the condition of this state, it is necessary to take a retrospective glance at events. The nizam's dominions, from their position between warlike and restless states, had suffered severely from the depredations of their neighbours; and this circumstance, together with a lax administration, had brought the finances of the dominion to so low an ebb, that it was found necessary to have recourse to a loan. There was a banking-house at Hyderabad bearing the name of Palmer & Co. (see p. 152); and to this house the nizam would have made application, but that he was prevented from so doing by an Act which had been passed for the purpose of preventing financial dealings between European and native princes. It was, however, considered necessary to modify the measure in this instance, and a loan was

consequently negotiated. The privilege was continued to the Hyderabad house till the year 1820, when, yielding to the clamour of faction, the sanction of the Court of Directors was withdrawn, and the loan repaid.

The effects of this proceeding had been to ruin the bankers, deprive India of the services of Lord Hastings, gravely offend the nizam, and to create a condition of confusion in the finances of the state which, up to the time of Lord Dalhousie's administration, had been progressing from bad to worse. Deprived of a ready means of obtaining advances, Chundoo Lall, the nizam's minister, was compelled to borrow at most usurious interest. The land was fast running to waste for lack of capital, and disorder, robbery, and oppression were the normal condition of affairs in this unfortunate province. The British government, to whom the nizam was considerably indebted, urged a settlement; and after many feeble and ineffectual attempts on the part of that prince to place his affairs on a firmer basis, it was resolved to take the matter up in a resolute spirit. A treaty was concluded between the British government and the nizam, by which Berar and other districts were assigned to English management (1853).

The remaining years of Lord Dalhousie's administration were devoted to the consideration of this annexation policy, as it is termed. Circumstances seemed to facilitate the carrying out of his schemes in this direction. The rulers of several provinces appear to have died without issue; and, having neglected to adopt successors, their dominions were declared to have become forfeit; and in this way Berar, with Nagpoor, Jhansy, Oude, and other places of less importance were seized to swell the enormous territory of Britain in India. This policy was the subject of much hostile criticism at the time—its justice in some instances, and its expediency in others, being seriously questioned.

The annexation of Oude, in particular, has received, and will ever continue to receive, special attention at the hands of the political critic. It forms the most sombre

episode in Lord Dalhousie's administrative career. His own ideas seem to have been at variance with the home government upon this point; and, had he been permitted to take his own course, the annexation might not have been effected, or, if at all, in a very modified form. He possessed, however, an exaggerated notion concerning obedience to command; and, in obeying the dictates of a tender conscience, he subverted his own private opinion; and, instead of relinquishing a false position, which a man of a different habit would have considered the most honourable course, he passively remained to carry out the behests of his superiors. Whatever blame, therefore, attaches to the transaction—his own individual ideas, notwithstanding—must ever be identified with his administration.

The kingdom of Oude had long been in a state of sad mismanagement; and that something must be done had been evident to the governors from Lord Bentinck downwards. The king had abandoned himself to degrading pleasures, and to the counsels of the most worthless and licentious companions; so that the time which should have been devoted to the benefit of his subjects, was spent in the most frivolous and even debasing pastimes. The evil influence of the court was felt beyond its precincts. Its ministers had become corrupt; and, under an effete administration, a condition of society was developing which threatened grave consequences to the province. Remonstrance had been tried; but, so far from altering the complexion of things, it probably aggravated them—inasmuch as, unaccompanied as it was with the determination to act, it had been regarded in the light of a simple protest; and thus this rich and highly favoured province seemed fast approaching a condition whence redemption would be impossible.

The question was a very delicate one, and required serious consideration before the taking of summary steps. The exigencies of the case, it is insisted, might have been amply met by an assumption of the administrative notions only—for which operation precedent was not

wanting. Lord Dalhousie himself was of this opinion. Nevertheless, no such method was adopted. The authorities in England, overruling the moderate proposals of the governor and his counsel, decided upon the extinction of the dynasty, and the annexation of the dominion. In 1866, therefore, the territory of the King of Oude passed into the hands of the Company. Whatever may be said concerning its expediency, and however much the gross immorality of the court and consequent disquieted condition of the dominion may appear to condone it, the execution of the measure appears in the light of a piece of base ingratitude towards a dynasty, which, through evil report and good report, had faithfully observed a friendly attitude towards our countrymen.

This much, however, may be said in behalf of the governor-general—whose overstrained notions of duty rendered it possible—that the transaction was an error of the head and not of the heart. For when, that same year, he set foot upon the deck of the vessel that was to convey him from the scene of his nine years' labours abroad, he was able to look back upon a varied career of glory and usefulness, illustrated not more by the triumphant issue of the Sikh war, than by the initiation of that system of railway, post-age, and telegraph, which has since been attended with such beneficial results. He was succeeded in office by Lord Canning, the then postmaster-general.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CANNING.

War with Persia—Battles of Mohammerah and Ahwaz—The Indian Mutiny—Causes—Dissatisfaction among the Sepoys—General character of British rule—The Greased Cartridges—The Bengal Army—Preliminaries of the Mutiny—Outbreak at Meerut—The Insurgents take possession of Delhi—Spread of the Rebellion—Precautionary measures adopted at Meer, Ferozepore, Umballa, and other places.

THE first year of the new governor-general's administration is marked by a short but sharp struggle with the ancient kingdom of Persia. For purposes of trade, and as a check upon the intrigues of Russia, missions had been sent at various times to the Shah's court—the last being that despatched by Lord Minto in 1810, when Sir Gore Ouseley was made permanent envoy to Teheran. In 1838, or just before the Afghan war, encouraged by the European power above mentioned, they laid siege, it will be remembered, to Herat, which was successfully defended by Captain Pottinger; and, by a subsequent treaty (1853), the king agreed to make no further attempt upon the place. This treaty was faithfully observed till the period of Lord Cornwallis's administration, when, after offering a series of gross insults to Mr. Murray, the British envoy, they broke faith; and, besieging the fortress, captured it. Mr. Murray had previously quitted Teheran; and the governor-general was not slow to take up the gauntlet thus rudely thrown down by the Persian monarch. An army of 6000 men under General Stalker was despatched from Bombay, which forthwith attacked Bushire. The place was taken, and the entire artillery and ammunition of the place came into possession of the victors.

Meanwhile, Sir James Outram had arrived; and now the struggle began in earnest. The Persian force was on its way to attempt the recovery of Bushire; and the British commander lost no time in advancing to intercept them. He fell in with them at Khooshab. The action that followed was a brilliant affair, and in it the Poonah horse and 3rd Bombay cavalry won undying renown—deciding, by their bravery, the fate of the day. The most celebrated and decisive action of the campaign was that of Mohammerah, a fortress situated upon a branch of the Euphrates, known as the Karoon (1857), where Prince Khan Mirza lay with a large army. The position was exceedingly strong, and considerable opposition was expected in consequence. To the surprise of the commander, however, the enemy made but little resistance, and withdrew to take new ground at Ahwaz, higher up the river. This position was subsequently attacked by Commodore Rennie; and its easy capture virtually terminated the war.

By the treaty that followed, the Shah guaranteed the integrity of Herat, and the protection of British commerce, and bound himself to assist in the suppression of the slave-trade. The good-will that has ever since existed between England and Persia has recently (1873) found expression in the cordial reception of the Shah by all classes in this country.

The administration of Lord Canning is memorable on account of its association with one of the most tragic occurrences it has ever been the lot of humanity to witness—namely, the Sepoy Mutiny (1857). We have now and then noticed the spirit of discontent and insubordination which pervaded the ranks of the native army, and told how that Sir Charles Napier had been despatched from England as much for the purpose of grappling with the danger it foreshadowed as to supersede Sir Hugh Gough, to whose bad generalship the slow progress of the Sikh war, and the fearful loss of life were erroneously attributed. We showed, too, the difficulty which stood in the way of reform, and how little he was able to progress with the

task he had been sent out to perform. The spirit of dissatisfaction and ill-will was widespread and deep, and the danger serious in the extreme. A critical period had indeed arrived; for our position in India was imperilled in a far greater degree than in the times of the Mahrattas, of Hyder Ally, and Tippoo Sahib.

Many circumstances had joined in producing this mutinous spirit; and it is but fair to our rulers to say that many of them were entirely beyond their control. The process of conquest by which India had been brought within the dominions of Britain, was necessarily accompanied by those evils and hardships which all enlightened conquerors may perhaps mitigate but cannot avoid. Conquerors of the Xerxes, Attila, or Tamerlane type might make short and easy work of all disaffection by the application of iron measures, such as might enter into the souls of the vanquished, but would nevertheless at the same time preclude all attempts to give expression by outward act. Of such like dealings they had had sad experience in days gone by. Such a method, however convenient it might be, was utterly antagonistic to the principles and education of Englishmen, and could, therefore, never be adopted. Hence a government of excessive laxity and toleration which the Hindu, in his profound ignorance might readily misinterpret as the offspring of indifference, indecision, or even fear. The marked deference the Company had always paid to the prejudices of the natives had been carried to so excessive a degree, that they had even opposed the introduction into the country of the useful customs of their own land.

This non-interferent policy had been observed by the Company up to the period of Lord William Bentinck's administration. Time had been, indeed, when heathenism was encouraged, and the most revolting ceremonies actually protected by military guards. But a new era had come in with the reforms of Lord William and his successors. Admission was permitted to the missionary, schools were founded, the public service opened to natives, and the time seemed at hand when a change in the con-

stitution of Hindu society would come about. The very improvements introduced by Lord Dalhousie were regarded by the ignorant as measures adopted with a view to rendering this transition sure and easy; and so the feeling of uneasiness and suspicion fast gained ground.

It has often been alleged that the Indian mutiny had its immediate origin in a fear lest the religious freedom of the natives should be interfered with. If such were the case, the disquietude must have proceeded rather from surmise than from actual facts; for, though government and other schools had been founded everywhere, religious teaching had been made optional in the one class, and entirely interdicted in the other.

The determination to use certain greased cartridges which the employment of a new arm—the Enfield rifle—rendered necessary, contributed more than any other circumstance to impart to this rebellion a religious tinge. Indeed, it was regarded by many as a religious war; but the fallacy of the theory is surely exhibited by the fact that the *emeute* was almost entirely confined to the ranks of the Sepoy soldiery. The population in general abstained from taking part in it; while the native princes, as a rule, either observed the attitude of passive on-lookers, or sided with our countrymen in their efforts to reduce the rebels.

Whatever may have happened to fill the conservative Hindu with alarm on account of European innovation, these circumstances were certainly but secondary considerations. The primary causes were rather of a military than a civil character. A lax condition of discipline had long characterised the Indian military system; and the Sepoy regiments had been in a state of chronic mutiny for more than twenty years. Exhibitions of disobedience had been connived at or condoned; and each display of a mutinous spirit, followed as it ever was by concession, tended to encourage, rather than allay it. In the words of a writer on the subject—"At each successive act of indiscipline, the Sepoys became more exacting, and the government more yielding; till at length the obedience of the native army was little more than nominal. Our

native troops were cajoled by concessions and pampered by sweetmeats. The flattery distilled into their ears would have turned the heads of any body of troops, even if they had not been the Asiatic mercenaries of a foreign conqueror. Thus they were encouraged in the belief that it was to their prowess alone that we owed the empire of India; and they came at length to the conclusion that, as they had once conquered India for us, they might now conquer it for themselves." *

Two most unfortunate conditions favoured the mutineers at this time—namely, the recent annexation of Oude, and the reduction in the strength of the European regiments on Indian service. The operation referred to had been effected without disorder, it is true; but it had nevertheless engendered a feeling of deep-rooted and dangerous discontent in the minds of the people. Unfortunately, the great bulk of the Bengal Sepoy army were natives of this province; and their sympathies would naturally be expected to go with their countrymen, who, from the highest to the lowest, considered themselves aggrieved and insulted by its forced annexation. Moreover, the regiments contained a great proportion of high-caste Brahmins, who, on account of their peculiar prejudices, had always been most difficult to manage. Such an arrangement, under any circumstances, would be expected to be perilous; and when the manifestations of ill-will, which from time to time had been but too apparent, are taken into account, the reduction of the European forces, to the proportion of one to five, by the authorities must be looked upon as injudicious in the extreme.

We must, however, regard the introduction of the greased cartridges as the more immediate cause of the outbreak. A report had been circulated to the effect that the lubricating matter was composed of a mixture of cow's fat and hog's lard. It was a clever insinuation, because the presence of the former ingredient would be certain to give grievous offence to the Hindu, who holds the cow in religious veneration; whilst the latter was a

* Marshman's *Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock*.

gross insult to the Mohammedans with whom the hog is an abomination; and while not a few would see in it an insidious attempt at proselytism, all would regard it as an insult to their religious convictions.

The rebellion was heralded by a system of incendiarism which was carried on at Barrackpore, Umballa, Meerut, and other stations. The earliest open manifestation of discontent occurred at Berhampore, where a Sepoy regiment absolutely refused to receive the cartridges served out to them. The resolution of Colonel Mitchell prevented bloodshed, and the regiment was shortly afterwards disbanded. The news of this and similar exhibitions of an insubordinate spirit quickly spread along the Ganges, and the rebellion grew with a rapidity which would have been marvellous, but for the fact that the minds of the natives were prepared for it by constant brooding over imaginary wrongs, and by a careful dissemination of artfully-woven stories regarding the designs of the English.

In May, the rebellion began in earnest. At Meerut a cavalry regiment had refused, like their brethren at Berhampore, to receive the cartridges; for which act of insubordination eighty-five men were tried and convicted. A few days later this regiment, in conjunction with those at other stations about, broke into open mutiny, shot down their officers, set free their imprisoned comrades, massacred every European they could lay hands on, and set fire to the place. They then marched in a body to Delhi, where disaffection was known to be in the highest degree rife.

Eluding the European troops that had been sent to intercept them, they entered the city and hastened to proclaim the king. Joined by the Sepoys of the place, they began to emulate the doings of Meerut, though with greater atrocity. Every European—man, woman, and child—found within the city was massacred in cold blood, and in the most barbarous manner. Lieut. Willoughby, with a handful of Europeans, gallantly defended the arsenal, committing frightful havoc among the ranks of the mutineers; but, overpowered by numbers, he was at length obliged to fly; and thus an unlimited quantity of

military stores fell into the hands of the rebels. On the 11th of the month, the mutineers, then, were in undisputed possession of the ancient Mogul capital, over which reigned once more a representative of the imperial house.

It was at this trying crisis that the advantage of Lord Dalhousie's progressive policy was exhibited. The electric wires, which he had caused to be laid, were at once set in motion, and news of the outbreak was received at Lahore, Ferozepore, and other important stations upon the very day of the occurrence. Upon receipt of the painful tidings, the military authorities of the former place acted with commendable wisdom and promptitude. At Meerut there was a native force of 4000 men, and another of 1300 Europeans with artillery. The Sepoy regiments were, without delay, marched unsuspectingly to a position in which they were confronted by the latter who were drawn out ready for action, with their guns fully charged. They were then ordered to lay down their arms; and, having no alternative, they of course immediately obeyed. Similar precautions were adopted at Ferozepore, where was an immense magazine—though not without bloodshed. Peshawar, Umballa, and other places were alike summarily dealt with; and thus the rebellion, though widespread, was in a great measure checked.

Unparalleled exertions were now made by the commander-in-chief to raise a force sufficient to cope with the rebellion; and, by the beginning of June a mixed army of Europeans and Ghorkas were assembled in front of Delhi, under Sir Henry ~~Barnard~~, preparatory to an attack upon the rebels there.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CANNING (*continued*).

Progress of the Mutiny—Massacre of Jhansi—The Fugitives from Futteghur—Nana Sahib—His Treachery—The Massacre of Cawnpore—Danger of Lucknow—Death of Sir Henry Lawrence—Gallant Defence of the Residency—Rout of the Mutineers at Futtehpore by Havelock—Cawnpore entered—Relics of the Massacre—Unsuccessful Attempt of Havelock to relieve Lucknow—The Insurrection gains ground—Delhi invested—Arrival of Reinforcements—Progress of the Siege—Its Capture—Moral Effect of the Capture.

ALTHOUGH the promptitude of the English officers had stifled rebellion in some quarters, their measures were unfortunately unsuccessful in others. At Muttra, Oude, Allahabad, Alighur, Nusseerabad, Neemuch, and many another spot of tragic memory, the Sepoy regiments, following the example of their comrades of Meerut and Delhi, shot down their officers and marched to swell the ranks of the rebel garrison of the imperial city. At Agra and Benares the movements of the disaffected were, for the present, checked; but at Jhansi a frightful massacre of confiding Europeans occurred, which rivalled in its atrocity the scenes of Meerut and Delhi.

Futteghur, besieged by rebels from Oude, resolutely held out, till the place had become untenable—when the garrison took to their boats and dropped down the river to Cawnpore. Here the most thrilling incident of the whole mutiny had taken place. The tragedy alluded to has been thus described:—"More deliberately treacherous than the catastrophe of the Black Hole a hundred years before—more intensified and prolonged—the fate of those who perished then forms a tragedy, so full of terrible

misery, of heroic endurance, and the deepest pathos, that it will be read with a shuddering tribute of tears, to the latest generation of Englishmen."*

The principal actor in this unprecedented drama was one Dhondoo Punt, who, under the name of Nana Sahib, or the Nana of Bithoor, will be remembered with execration by posterity wherever the sad history of this rebellion shall be read. The nana was the adopted heir of the Peshwa, Bajee Rao, who, on his patron's death in 1853, had applied for a continuation of the pension which the government had, with too great generosity, it was thought, granted to the Peshwa. It was, however, withheld; and, from that time forward, the British had no more subtle and determined enemy in the Indian peninsula than this disappointed man. He became one of the foremost agents for the dissemination of the most audacious falsehoods concerning the English throughout India; and, under the guise of a friendly exterior, contrived to his utmost to fan the flame of disaffection, and to subvert our rule in the country. When the mutiny broke out, he was warm in his professions of loyalty and good-will; and it was earnestly hoped that he might be a ready instrument in the hands of the English authorities in dealing out retribution to the insurgents.

At this memorable station of Cawnpore there were some 4000 native troops; while, of Europeans, there were barely 200. In anticipation of an outbreak, the commander, Sir Hugh Wheeler, had strengthened the cantonment by a breastwork; and within this miserable fortification the Europeans—military and civil—to the number of 1000 souls took refuge. At first, the nana's bearing was assuring; but as time wore on his treachery became only too apparent. The European position was, by-and-bye, attacked, but an effective stand was made for three weeks, when, supplies failing, and the gallant commander having fallen in a sortie made upon the besieging force, the defenceless garrison agreed to treat with the nana. It was a fatal step, and had the con-

* Col. Meadows Taylor's *Manual of the History of India*.

sequences been anticipated, the garrison would ten times sooner have put their helpless charges to the sword and died in armour.

According to the terms of capitulation, they were to make their way by boats to Allahabad. They were, however, no sooner embarked than a fire of grape and musketry was opened upon them from the shore. Four men only escaped the murderous ordeal by swimming; the rest were brought to shore—the men to be summarily butchered, the women and children to be subjected by-and-bye to the most revolting barbarities. And there is no more terrible memory of this painful mutiny than the Well of Cawnpore—the grave of our outraged countrywomen and children. The list of atrocities was swollen by the massacre of a remnant of the fugitive garrison of Futteghur, who, ignorant of the fate of their brethren, had suffered themselves to be decoyed on shore.

Upon Cawnpore and Delhi and Lucknow was now centred the chief interest of this mournful occurrence. At Lucknow, the governor, Sir Henry Lawrence, had taken such precautions as he was able. He had fortified a building known as the Mutchie Bhowan; and here he took up his quarters in daily expectation of being called upon to defend himself against the attacks of rebel bands who menaced him on every side. Towards the end of June, the wisdom of his precautions became apparent. The insurgents, upwards of 2000 in number, had been gradually collecting at a station some eighteen miles from Lucknow, and their advance-guard was now at Chinbūt, within ten miles of the Residency. Here Sir Henry Lawrence attacked them; but, being deserted by his Sepoys, and overwhelmed by numbers, his men were driven back with severe loss. In this engagement the gallant commander received his death-wound. The normal effect of his failure was serious in the extreme; and the Mutchie Bhowan, no longer tenable, was surrendered to the besiegers. The garrison now withdrew to the Residency, and there for months withstood a siege which, from the determination with which it was conducted, and

the heroism displayed in its defence, must ever hold foremost rank among the events of this awful period.

Meanwhile, preparations had been making for the relief of the devoted garrison; and on the last day of June, Sir Henry Havelock was at Allahabad at the head of a little band of Europeans and Sikhs. Thither he set out, and was met by the rebels in force at Futtehpore. His men, wearied with a long day's march, would fain have rested for the night, that with strength renewed they might face the foe in the morning. Their desire was not gratified, for the enemy was already advancing. The action that ensued was a brilliant and, so far as Havelock's men were concerned, a bloodless one. The enemy quickly fled, leaving their artillery and baggage in the hands of the victors. Havelock now advanced on Cawnpore with the hope of saving its unfortunate garrison; but the nana, in anticipation of Havelock's success, had placed them beyond the reach of succour; for "this band of Englishmen bright in their honour, and of Englishwomen still brighter in their fortitude," were now no more.

"Early on the 17th, Havelock's brigade marched into the station, and soon reached the scene of the massacre. What was seen there, in all its sickening horror, need not be described again; but was it marvellous that the mournful blood-stained relics, the little shoes and scraps of clothing, the deep well filled with fresh dead—caused every British soldier to make an inward vow of revenge, which to the last was sternly fulfilled? Over that well, now enclosed by a rich Gothic screen, stands an angel in marble, with folded wings and crossed arms, an emblem of the rest of the dead beneath, who await the Lord's coming."*

The success of Havelock's march was thorough; for in nine days he had fought and won four battles—committing sad havoc among the ranks of the mutineers, and capturing many guns. The nana fled upon the approach of the victorious column, first to Bithoor, and then across the Ganges—so leaving General Neale in possession of the place. Havelock, with a force of some 1500 men

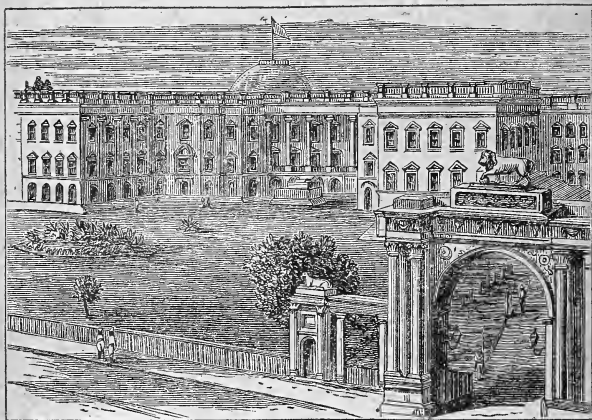
* Meadows Taylor's *Student's History of India*.

crossed the Ganges on his way to the relief of the garrison of Lucknow. The attempt, for the present, unfortunately was a failure. His little band fought with a courage which the justice of a cause alone can impart; and the enemy retired before them from many a hard-fought field; but the season was upon the side of the rebels, and the gallant general was soon forced to fall back before a foe which no heroism, however exalted, could hope to withstand; for when he arrived on his retrograde movement at Mungulwar, sickness had prostrated a considerable proportion of his men.

Nothing daunted, however, he returned to the task anew; and with a small reinforcement from Cawnpore, once more pushed forward. Again he was compelled to retreat—this time on Cawnpore, where he was able to render yeoman service to Neale, who was threatened by a considerable force under the nana. The nana was hopelessly beaten; but Havelock, despairing of accomplishing his design with such a handful of men, determined to rest here and await reinforcements. Those reinforcements were slow indeed in arriving; for the dissatisfaction was so widespread, that such Europeans and faithful allies as were at command, were required either to watch and disarm the Sepoys, or to counteract their mischief when in actual rebellion. At Jullunda, Jhelum, and Sealcote the troops had mutinied and marched northwards into Delhi. At Lahore, the rebels were summarily dealt with. An attempt was made by the Agra Sepoys to get possession of the fortifications of the place. Benares was only saved by an exhibition of the greatest firmness; and Azinghur by the prompt action of a wealthy indigo-planter of the district. The native soldiery at Peshawar rose in open revolt; and, as the reward of their treachery, were, like their comrades of Sealcote, thoroughly annihilated. Bengal was for the most part quiet; but considerable uneasiness prevailed in Calcutta, and preparations were made for the worst. The mere enumeration of these, which are only selected as being among the most prominent localities of disturbance, is sufficient to show

how wide must be the area of operations, and how difficult the reinforcement of the relieving band under Havelock.

While Generals Neale and Havelock lay thus inactive at Cawnpore, their brethren in arms were engaged in an attack upon the great stronghold of the enemy at Delhi. The investment had, indeed, begun early in June, when Sir Harry Barnard, having defeated the rebels at Budlee Serai, took up a position upon the heights overlooking the city to the north-west. The siege dragged its slow length through the months of June, July, and August,



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

and no attempt was made at assault—for the place, strong both by nature and art, was in the hands of 30,000 trained soldiers with a well-stocked arsenal, in daily receipt of reinforcements, and their roads of communication open towards the south and east. Confident in their overwhelming numbers, repeated sorties were made upon the English lines; and though always gallantly repulsed, the British position was oftentimes in considerable jeopardy.

Meanwhile, the English commander had been receiving reinforcements from the west; and, by the end of

August, his army numbered 8000 troops of all arms; and a siege-train considerably strengthened by batteries from Ferozepore. This latter was brought in with immense difficulty, after a sharp conflict at Myjuffghur, occasioned by an attempt on the part of the enemy to intercept it. The batteries were speedily erected; and the clamorous din of fifty guns and mortars, belching forth an incessant storm of shot and shell, contrasted powerfully with the silence of that forced inactivity which had characterised the last few weeks of the siege. Indeed, up to the present, there had really been no siege, but merely a maintenance of position.

On the 8th of September a contingent of Sikhs arrived, and swelled the numbers of the effective fighting-men to something like 10,000. On the morning of the 14th the assault upon the city was made. The well-directed fire of the English batteries had already demolished the massive walls, and the breach was reported practicable. The assaulting columns were headed by Brigadiers Nicholson and Jones and Colonel Campbell. The assailants were met with a perfect hail of musketry, but the advance was never checked, and the breaches were quickly carried. The Cashmere gates were blown in by bags of gunpowder heroically applied by Lieutenant Salkeld and other volunteers. The stormers advanced, carrying all before them, and reached, at length, the inner defences. Meanwhile, a column under General Reid had been so unsuccessful that it had to retire and find refuge within the British lines. Nevertheless, nothing daunted, either by the failure of their comrades, or by the difficulties which lay before them, the assailants pressed onwards.

The city was obstinately defended; and as the attacking columns pushed their way through the thoroughfares of the city, they had to run the gauntlet of an incessant and murderous fire from the loop-holed buildings which lined them. In carrying one street, in particular, the loss was heavy; and the gallant Nicholson was borne to the rear mortally wounded.

Notwithstanding the exertions of the troops, Delhi

was not yet won. The chief strongholds were still in the hands of the enemy; and difficulties lay in the way of the British advance calculated to make the boldest pause. Nevertheless, the onset never slackened. The artillery was brought up, and the enemy's position vigorously shelled. The magazine was captured; and, step by step, the English advanced. The Burn Bastion, the scene of Reid's late failure and the strongest point of the fortification was carried, and the Lahore and Delhi gates falling, left the king's palace open to the assailants. The king, being captured by Lieutenant Hodson, was brought to the palace. His son and grandson were subsequently taken, and put to death as agents of the rebels.

Six days of hard fighting had been employed in the capture of this stronghold; but when, at length, the work was done, it was found to be so complete that not a rebel soldier is said to have remained alive within it. The retribution was sharp, and the destruction of life among the rebels great; but then the provocation had been great likewise; and tender dealing with those who, having eaten our bread had taken up arms against us, would, at such a juncture, have been highly injudicious. To the honour of the victors, however, there was no indiscriminate slaughter. The civil population was left comparatively unmolested; and, if the place was plundered and devastated, it was because the efforts of the officers were powerless to restrain the violence of a soldiery whose passions had been roused to a pitch of perfect frenzy.

The capture of Delhi, which had cost the English and their native allies the lives of close upon 4000 men, left the besiegers at liberty to march to the assistance of their comrades of Cawnpore. The unexpected success at Delhi, although it did not end the struggle, had given the rebellion its death blow. It taught those Sepoys, who as yet had remained seemingly loyal, the hopelessness of the cause of their mutinous comrades; and native princes who were ready to declare for the rebels upon the first gleam of real success began to offer, some their congratulations, others their services in quelling the insurrection.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CANNING (*continued*).

The Flying Columns—Havelock's Advance—Battle of the Allumbagh—Havelock brings Relief to the Lucknow Garrison—Sir Colin Campbell advances to relieve the Garrison—He withdraws to Cawnpore—Defeat of the Gwalior Rebels under Nana Sahib and Tantia Topee—Suspension of Operations—Sir Colin's Celebrated Campaign—Capture of the Rebels' Strongholds in Lucknow—Sir Hugh Rose's Campaign—Dispersion of the Rebel Bands—Circumscribed Character of the Rebellion—End of the Mutiny.

THE various columns that quitted Delhi on their errand of mercy had yet work to do before reaching Cawnpore. Agra, threatened by a large insurgent force from Dholpore, was saved by the timely action of Colonel Greathed; and another column under Brigadier Thomas employed itself in clearing the country of the rebel bands that threatened it. Indeed, the country seemed to be filled with flying columns, whose doughty deeds helped not a little towards the ultimate victory of our arms, and brought forth into the light of day many a name heretofore obscure, but now a household word among us.

The little band under Havelock and Neale had been inactive spectators of the struggle—burning to advance to the rescue of their countrymen at Lucknow, but unable from want of means to show themselves beyond the walls of their fortress. Ere the great stronghold of Delhi had been levelled, Sir James Outram arrived with reinforcements from Calcutta; and, in a few days, an English column crossed the Ganges under Sir Henry Havelock, Sir James Outram, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the Cawnpore and Dinapore stations, chival-

rously waiving his rank and serving as a volunteer under him. The principal episode that occurred upon the line of march was the fight of the Allumbagh, whence the rebels were driven towards Lucknow. Arrived at Lucknow, a severe contest—such as that which marks the closing days of the siege of Delhi—took place. The attack, however, was successful. The enemy's position was carried; and the devoted garrison, who had so long and bravely struggled on against such mighty odds—at first hoping against hope, and anon fighting with that desperate valour which belongs to men who behold themselves face to face with death—received their triumphant fellow-countrymen with grateful welcome.

This arrival of Havelock was, however, rather a reinforcement than a relief from the dangers threatening them. The brave general had, by sheer hard fighting, thus joined hands with his devoted comrades of the Residency. The rebels, notwithstanding, manifested no disposition to retire from the siege; and the utmost the reinforced garrison could do was to await still further succour, which the almost daily arrivals from England gave them good reason to hope for.

Yet for two months longer had this devoted band to maintain themselves against the overwhelming numbers of their enemy; for it was not till the end of October that Sir Colin Campbell, who had been appointed commander-in-chief, left Calcutta for its relief. In the course of a week he arrived at Cawnpore, whence he set out to join the garrison of Allumbagh. The junction effected, he saw himself at the head of 4500 men. No time was lost in commencing operations; and Sir Colin having, through the daring feat of an officer named Kavannagh, entered into communication with the garrison at Lucknow, began the attack. Point after point of the fortress was captured; and, after three days' hard fighting, the Residency was reached. Two days later, the sick and wounded were removed to the Sikunder Bagh, and the next day the position so long and so nobly defended was abandoned. The joy of the rescued garrison was damped by the death,

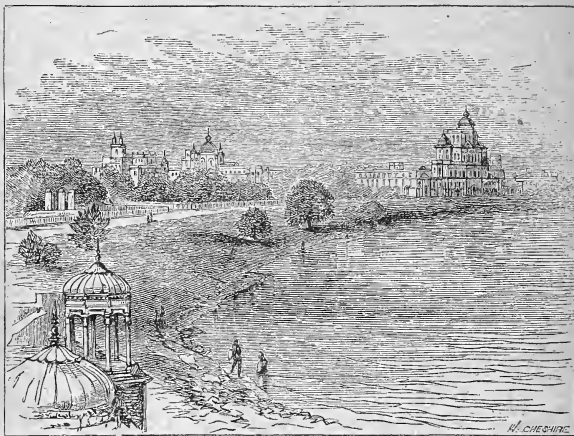
by dysentery, of the gallant Havelock, which occurred at the Dilkooshee on the 25th November. The commander's object had simply been the relief of the garrison; and this had been effected by the process of bringing them from the Residency to the safer position of the Allumbagh. The means at his command were not adequate to a general attack upon the place; so, leaving General Outram with a division at Allumbagh, Sir Colin retraced his steps to Cawnpore.

The speedy withdrawal of Sir Colin to Cawnpore was mainly occasioned by the movements of the rebels in that quarter. The Gwalior contingent, which had hitherto made no sign, were at this time assembled, to the number of 20,000 well-trained men under Nana Sahib and Tantia Topee, and on their way to attack the garrison of Cawnpore. General Wyndham, the commander of the place, on hearing of their approach, sallied out to meet them; but he met with so unexpected a reverse, that he was compelled to quit the town and take refuge behind the entrenchments. Here, however, the success of the mutineers ended; for having sustained a defeat at the hands of Sir Colin and Sir Hope Grant, the rebels dispersed, leaving a splendid park of artillery in the hands of their vanquishers. It is matter of satisfaction to find that the fugitives from Lucknow arrived in safety at Allahabad.

The first two months of the year 1858 were spent by Sir Cohn Campbell in making preparations for a great campaign in Oude and Rohilcund. Operations against the insurgents were however suspended during this period. Sir James Outram had crossed swords with the insurgents at Lucknow; and a victorious affair had occurred at Kallee Muddee, whereby Futteghur was captured. The strong fortress of Awah in Rajpootana was taken by General Roberts; and Sangur in Central India, defended for a half year by faithful Sepoys, was relieved by Sir Hugh Rose; while, at Mundiscor, General Stuart, by routing a rebel force, relieved Neemuch.

Towards the end of February, Sir Colin's celebrated campaign began. Joined by Jung Bahadur with 10,000

Ghoorkas from Nepaul, he had with him an imposing array of 50,000 men and 160 guns. His great object was the capture of Lucknow; and thither his march was directed. The Dilkoooshee Palace was captured with ease, and the bombardment was not long delayed. Position after position—the Martiniése, the Begum Cotee, the Kaiser Bagh, Mutchie Bhowan, Imambarra, and Moosee Bagh, familiar names enough to those who can remember this eventful period—was carried; and, within the space of eleven days, the whole of the city and fortifications were in the hands of the besiegers, whose losses, considering the arduous character of the operations were exceedingly small.



LUCKNOW.

The two great centres of the rebellion—Delhi and Lucknow—having fallen, the mutiny was virtually suppressed; and it now only remained to deal with the fugitive bands that were abroad in the country, and to reduce the rebel strongholds of Rohilcund, Rajpootana, and Central India. The principal leaders of the rebels at this time were Khan Bahadur, Khan Koer Singh,

Prince Feroze of Delhi, the Moulvee of Fyzabad, the Nana of Bithoor, Tantia Topee, the Begum of Oude, and the Ranee of Jhansi.

The operations in Central India were conducted by Sir Hugh Rose; and his campaign in the hill country about Malwah and Bundelcund, is one of the most interesting features of the contest. Early in April he attacked the ranee's stronghold; and, beating off a relieving column under Tantia Topee, captured one of the strongest bulwarks of the insurgents in this part of India. The ranee escaped; but a terrible vengeance was taken upon her rebel followers for the cold-blooded massacre of our countrymen ten months before. The ranee was pursued, but was not overtaken till she had joined Tantia Topee. A series of combats ensued; and Kalpee, their stronghold, was taken; but both escaped. The terrific heat of the weather checked pursuit; and their scattered bands were permitted to unite and take possession of Gwalior, where Nana Sahib was proclaimed Peshwa. Thither, in due time, they were pursued by Sir Hugh, who, after four days' bombardment, captured their stronghold and reinstated the loyal Scindia, who, through the mutinous spirit of his troops, had been compelled to flee from the place. The ranee was killed during the siege. The nana and Tantia Topee managed to escape; and, though pursued and defeated at Alipoor, they still maintained a head, till, hunted from place to place by Majors Holmes and Meade, Tantia surrendered to the latter. He was tried by court-martial and hanged in April 1859.

Koer Singh, after defeating a body of English under Captain de Grand, was killed at Jugdispoor, which fortress had been laid siege to by Sir E. Layard. Nana Sahib made good his escape northwards, and took refuge amid the jungles of Nepaul, where, shortly afterwards, he is said to have died. The Begum of Oude sought asylum in the same wild region. Some of the insurgent chiefs submitted. There consequently remained no organised resistance; and the operations were henceforth of so desultory a character, that they could no longer be characterised

as a campaign, as they had for their object merely the dispersion of bands rendered desperate by failure, and the prospect of retribution.

And thus the great Sepoy rebellion was stamped out. It was a gloomy page in the history of India, blotted with deep dark spots, but relieved here and there by discs of matchless brightness. Self-abnegation, fortitude, Christian patience, noble devotion, and exalted heroism stand boldly out against the dark background of anarchy and rebellion, with its blurs and blots of treachery and untold cruelty, illuminating its surface with a radiance that shall never fade. For if, in such miscreants as the Nana, Lukshmere Bye, the Ranee of Jhansi, the King of Delhi, the Moulvee of Fyzabad, and their fiendish followers, the worst phases of human character are exhibited, the claims of humanity to the proud position of the Almighty's noblest handiwork are well upheld by such men as Outram, Havelock, Campbell, Rose, Lawrence, Kavannagh, Salkeld, and a host of heroes whose noble deeds shall be remembered and recorded wherever the force of example may be needed to spur the timorous to honour and duty, or to sustain the wretched under severest trial.

One of the most agreeable features of this untoward event was the attitude of the Hindu people generally, and the fidelity with which the native rulers, as a whole, observed the compacts into which they had severally entered with their conquerors. There was no disturbance south of the Nerbudda. The people of the provinces so lately annexed, several of the Sepoy regiments, notably those at Lucknow, our ancient enemies the Mahrattas, with Scindia and Holkar, and many another people whom we had often met in the field of battle, and had vanquished in desperate strife, so far from availing themselves of the opportunity the insurrection seemed to furnish them for regaining their lost independence, or avenging past injuries, were either strictly neutral, or indefatigable in the aid they offered the English in bringing the rebels to justice and re-establishing order.

These exhibitions of fidelity were even surpassed by the conduct of the Sikhs. The noble devotion with which these lately conquered people followed our standard is unique in the history of the world. It was the highest possible exhibition of political honesty, and forms, with the subsequent rejoicing which, upon the suppression of the revolt, prevailed among all peace-loving society, the highest tribute to the benignity of our rule, or at least to the power and wisdom of our race. If the insurrection had been associated with no more pleasing memories than these, the blood of our heroic and long-suffering countrymen and countrywomen would not have been shed in vain.

CHAPTER XXIX.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CANNING (*concluded*)—LORD ELGIN—SIR JOHN LAWRENCE—LORD MAYO—LORD NORTHBROOK.

Reconstruction of the Indian Government—Lord Palmerston's attempt at Legislation—Mr. Disraeli's Measure—The Queen's Proclamation to the Natives—Lord Canning's Measures in India—Appointment of a Minister of Indian Finance—Famine in the North-west Provinces—Lord Elgin Succeeds to the Government—Sir John Lawrence's Administration—War with Bhotan—Famine in Orissa—Petty Warfare with Hill Tribes—Appointment of Lord Mayo—His Measures—His Assassination—Lord Northbrook—The Bengal Famine.

THE occurrence of this insurrection gave occasion for a reconstruction of the government of India. The term of the Company's reign had expired; and, in face of events, the question was raised as to the expediency of the renewal of a further lease of sovereign power to an association whose rule had culminated in so serious a calamity. Moreover, the position of the Company was to the last degree equivocal—depending as it did upon Parliament for its tenure of power, and sharing with the crown the administration of the affairs of the dominion. The rebellion had conferred one benefit at least, in that it had shown the mischievous character of a dual government. The very term—suggestive as it is of divided responsibility—is ominous. This, however, was perhaps not now perceived for the first time; but great reforms are seldom undertaken till their absolute necessity becomes manifest by means of some unpleasant visitation; and so it was in this case.

The reminder had come in a terrible form, and could

no longer be disregarded. In February 1858, Lord Palmerston obtained leave to introduce a bill transferring the government of India, with all the Company's public property to the Queen. His subsequent defeat on the Conspiracy Bill, and consequent resignation prevented the accomplishment of his design; but the matter was taken up by his successor in office; and in March next, Mr. Disraeli asked permission to bring in a similar measure. This became law in the following August; and the immense empire of India thus became a portion of the dominions of the United Kingdom. The Queen's proclamation was issued—a portion of which was translated into the vernacular languages of India, read in every native court, and widely circulated among all classes of the people. It partly ran as follows:—"It is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge. We honour and respect the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the state; and we will see that, generally, in framing or administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India."

While measures were being taken in England for the future management of Indian affairs, Lord Canning in India had not been idle. His attention had been directed chiefly towards Oude, the focus of the rebellion; and, by way of punishment to those landowners, or talookdars, as they were termed, who had taken part in the rebellion, he issued a proclamation to the effect that, with the exception of the few who had remained loyal, the lands were forfeit to the British government. The measure caused great outcry at first, and among its opponents were the upright Sir James Outram, and Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control. The introduction of it, however, was so judicious, and its terms enforced in so

calm and conciliatory a manner, that its wisdom was made apparent to all concerned; and the submission of the landowners was thus peaceably secured.

Subsequently, by the aid of the new legislative council—whose appointment was concurrent with the passing of the bill transferring the government of the country from the hands of the Company to the Crown—many important and beneficial measures were introduced, chiefly of an industrial and financial character, the carrying out of which was greatly facilitated by the appointment of an Indian Finance Minister in the person of Mr. Wilson. At the same time, an amalgamation was effected of the Queen's and Company's (Sudder) courts—a measure which the change from the dual to a single government necessitated.

The public works, which had been necessarily suspended during the progress of the mutiny, were resumed upon the restoration of peace and order; and the construction of railways, roads, canals, and public buildings made fast progress. The latter part of Lord Canning's administration, however, is marked by an unfortunate occurrence—namely, a grievous famine which visited the north-western provinces; and notwithstanding the most strenuous exertions on the part of the officials and private individuals, carried off half a million of human beings.

Lord Canning left for England in June 1862, and was succeeded by Lord Elgin, whose term of office extended over little more than a year. No event of importance marks his brief administration, excepting certain conspiracies of Mahratta fanatics—the Wahabees of Patna, the Santals of the Bengal frontier, and the Sittanas who dwell upon the borders of Afghanistan and the Punjaub. Though productive of some uneasiness at the time, these occurrences were suppressed without much difficulty by Sir Hugh Rose.

Lord Elgin was succeeded by the Indian veteran, Sir John Lawrence, who arrived in India early in 1864. The reforms of this governor were eminently of a sanitary character. In the carrying of them out, he well-nigh

raised a storm among the natives, who, averse to the burial of their dead, were in the habit of casting their corpses into the rivers, to the manifest prejudice of the living. The most stirring occurrence during the administration of Sir John Lawrence was a war with Bhotan, a hill country to the east of Nepaul (1865). It arose from a dispute concerning the payment of a tribute, which, after the annexation of Assam, was promised in consideration of the keeping open of certain passes, called Dowars, at the foot of the Himalayas in this quarter. The operations were badly conducted; and, though the British were eventually successful, it scarcely compensated for the loss of life from the ravages of the climate, and of prestige among the native population.

The reign of Sir John Lawrence is marked, like that of his predecessor, by a devastating famine (1866). On this occasion, the province of Orissa was the scene of this fearful visitation. Unfortunately, no preparations had been made to meet it; and the sacrifice of life quadrupled that in the north-west—reaching the enormous figure of two millions. These visitations served to direct the attention of the government towards the establishment of irrigation works, which should be available in case of drought, and so prevent their recurrence. The matter was seriously taken up by Lord Cranbourne, the Indian Secretary, and engineers were immediately sent over to carry out the work.

The last years of Lord Lawrence's administration were occupied in petty warfare with Waghurs, Bheels, Kurds, and Afghan tribes. These were in turn reduced; and when Sir John quitted India upon the expiration of his term of office, there was nothing to disturb its peace, except the vexed question of the north-western frontier. His administration might have closed with stirring events had he not prudently abstained from interference in the feuds of the Afghan royal family. And this, upon the death of Dost Mahomed, our faithful ally, he was called upon to do. Nevertheless, resisting every temptation, he adhered to a strict neutrality whereby he drew upon him-

self much censure from various quarters. Whether his policy was a wise one or not, time will have to show.

Lord Mayo, appointed by Mr. Disraeli, was Sir John's successor. He had had but little acquaintance with Indian affairs, and the wisdom of the appointment was severely questioned at the time. He, however, undertook the responsibility of Indian government at a period when there was little to do, except to wage a vigorous warfare against the natural obstacles of the country, and zealously to grapple with the evils of native superstition and ignorance. Under such circumstances, the liberality and genial nature of the noble lord seemed eminently calculated to stand him in good stead; and India, doubtless, lost a valued friend when the kindly nobleman received his death-blow (1872) at the hand of an assassin. This melancholy occurrence took place at Torb Blair, while on an official visit to the Andaman Islands. The assassin was an Indian convict named Shere Ally.

Lord Mayo was succeeded in the governor-generalship by Lord Northbrook. Like Lord Mayo, he fell upon quiet times; yet, like Elgin and Lawrence, he was destined to close with enemies more deadly than Mahratta or Sikh, or rebel Sepoy—namely, famine, and its ally pestilence. The visitation referred to was a trying circumstance; and it was everywhere felt that the administrative capacity of the new governor-general would by it be placed upon its trial. The combat was long and severe; but victory, in the end, crowned his exertions; and henceforth his name must stand high upon the list of those to whom the acquisition and consolidation of our eastern empire is due. At the same time, it furnishes a further claim on the part of Great Britain to dominion over the teeming multitudes of the Indian peninsula.

CHAPTER XXX

PROGRESS OF BRITISH CONQUEST.

Characteristics of British Progress—Earliest Settlements—Surat—Factories on the Ganges and the Coromandel Coast—Madras—Bombay—Calcutta—The Carnatic—Bengal, Bahar, Orissa—Northern Circars—Allahabad and Corah—Malabar—Tanjore—Mahratta Territory—Cochin—Travancore—Ceylon—New Mahratta Territory—Burmah—Mysore—Scinde—The Punjaub—Oude.

HAVING now traced the history of this important part of the British dominions from its earliest beginnings to our own times, it will be well to take a cursory retrospect, in order that we may be enabled to comprehend clearly the progress of British power in this eastern peninsula.

There is, perhaps, nothing in the annals of nations, either ancient or modern, which can compare with the development of British sway in India. The conquests of Alexander and of Cortes, in the magnitude of the equipments, the extent of their area of operations, and the brilliancy and despatch with which they were conducted, may outshine the campaigns of Clive and Warren Hastings; while the dignity pertaining to an Indian governor may bear no comparison with the splendour that surrounded the name of a Roman proconsul. Nevertheless, when we regard the materials with which the conquest was effected, the difficulties overcome, and the condition of the nations subjugated, the acquisition of dominion in India appears a more marvellous operation than either. "The people of India, when we subdued them," says Macaulay, "were ten times as numerous as the Americans whom the Spaniards vanquished, and were at the same time quite as highly civilised as the victorious Spaniards. They had

reared cities larger and fairer than Saragossa or Toledo, and buildings more beautiful and costly than the cathedral of Seville. They could show bankers richer than the richest firms of Barcelona or Cadiz, viceroys whose splendour surpassed that of Ferdinand the Catholic, myriads of cavalry and long trains of artillery which would have astonished the great captain."

Two centuries since, a few inconsiderable stations of an incipient trading-company, whose tenure of existence was dependent upon the favour of capricious monarchs, and the good-will of native princes, were the meagre representative of British enterprise in India; and now her influence is felt and her behests respected throughout the length and breadth of the land—from the Soliman and Hala Mountains to the Irrawady, and from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and far beyond it over the spice-bearing plains of Ceylon!

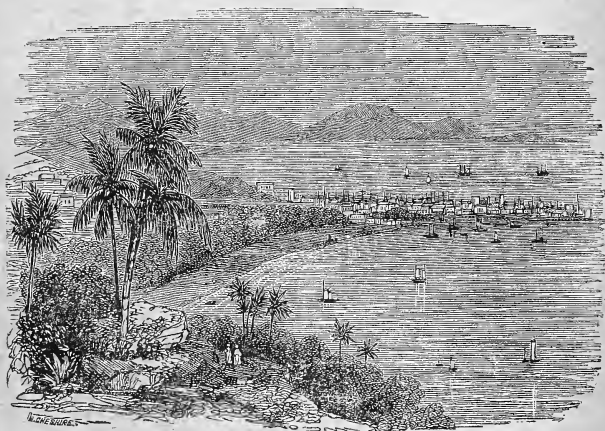
The earliest settlement of the English upon the Indian coast was at Surat, at the mouth of the Tapti. For a first real footing in the peninsula, our countrymen are indebted to the liberality of the Shah Jehangier, the son and successor of the great Akbar; who, upon the defeat of a Portuguese squadron by the English under Captain Best, concluded a treaty with the victors (1613) whereby he bound himself to protect the British traders at that settlement, and agreed to receive an English ambassador at his court. Towards the middle of the century, this settlement became a presidency, having control over the establishments in the Persian Gulf and the western coast of India.

The establishment of a trading station at Surat, was shortly followed by the opening of other factories in various parts—at Madraspatam, Nagapatam, Fort St. David, Masulipatam, and other places on the Coromandel coast; and at Cossimbazzar, Patna, and Hooghley—which latter lay not far from the spot on which Calcutta now stands—farther northward.

Madras, under the name of Fort St. George, was established in 1646 by the permission of the Rajah of

Chundergiri, who undertook to protect the interests of the British traders, and even constructed a fortress for their defence.

Like Surat, it eventually became a presidency (1746), having authority over the settlements in Bengal. It grew in time to be a large city and was strongly fortified. Once this important station—and now the capital of the vast presidency that takes its name—passed out of English hands, when in 1746, or exactly a century after its foundation, it yielded to the attacks of the French commander Labourdonnais. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) restored it to its former owners; and, excepting when, in 1769, the unpardonable carelessness of the authorities permitted our great enemy, Hyder Ally, to steal a march of our countrymen, and to dictate peace within the bounds of its fortifications, our position there has never been seriously threatened.



BOMBAY.

In 1668, the East India Company received an accession of territory in the island and town of Bombay, which Charles the Second received as part of the dowry of his

Spanish bride. The cession had been made so early as 1661; but, difficulties having arisen concerning the territorial boundaries, the English did not obtain possession of it until 1664, and the Company till four years later. The claim of the English to this station has never been seriously questioned; and it is now the head of one of the presidencies into which India is divided. For this dignity it is indebted as much to the outbreak of a formidable insurrection, which occurred in 1683, as to the superiority of its position, and the rapid growth of its population; for the occurrence referred to revealed the advantage which would arise from a transfer of the seat of government thither; and Surat was accordingly deposed from the honourable position it had so long held in connection with the British settlements on the western coast.

About twenty years after the acquisition of Bombay by the Company (1698), the English factory there was removed from Hooghley to a place twenty miles lower down the river, bearing the name of Govindpore, but to which the English appellation of Fort William was subsequently given. This newly chosen station was destined in time to become the principal commercial emporium of the peninsula; and, under the name of Calcutta, its capital and chief seat of government. In the year 1751 the importance of the place was such, that it was found necessary to strengthen its defences; and, accordingly, the settlement was surrounded by a rampart and ditch, the latter of which received, and still retains, the name of the Mahratta ditch. This precaution, however, was not sufficient to check the advance of an enemy; for, in 1756, or only five years after, Suraj-ud-Dowlah, nabob of Bengal, captured the place, and incarcerated a portion of its garrison in a shameful prison. Next year it was retaken by Clive and Sir Eyre Coote; and, in 1759, its area was extended by the grant of a district to the south of it, denominated the Pergunnahs, to Clive. Since the above untoward occurrence—though oftentimes in danger—the English have never been disturbed in their possession of this, the capital city of the empire.

Hitherto the operations of the English in India, it will be seen, had been strictly confined to the acquisition of commercial establishments; and it is extremely doubtful whether ambition would have tempted them beyond this moderate and praiseworthy field, had not the feuds of the native princes, and the operations of their French neighbours, succeeded in drawing them into the vortex of Indian politics. The ambitious cravings of the French governor, Dupleix, led him to despise mere commercial intercourse and to contemplate the establishment of imperial dominion in this eastern land. He took great care to encourage the overtures made to him by belligerent princes, because they seemed to offer the opportunity he desired; and the English in sheer self-preservation were constrained to enter the arena likewise.

The success of the French at the outset of the struggle was marked; and Dupleix, as a reward for the services he had rendered his *protegé*, the soubadah of the Deccan, was invested with the viceroyalty of the Carnatic. The masterly genius of Clive subsequently reversed this state of things; and the English, having given a nabob to this province, became the virtual rulers of it. The province long laboured under the disadvantage of a dual government; and, during the wars with Hyder Ally and his son Tippoo, it suffered severely from the ravages of these warlike princes. In the year 1801, Lord Wellesley, the then governor-general, put an end to this anomaly by bringing it within the jurisdiction of the Presidency of Madras. The Carnatic then cannot, till a later date, be regarded in the light of a territorial acquisition. The province, however, holds a prominent place, as being the earliest theatre of that action which ultimately established British domination throughout the Indian peninsula.

About the same time the virtual possession of an extensive tract of country in Northern India fell to the Company in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Long before, the influence of the English in this quarter, owing to the number and importance of its factories, had been considerable; and now the inimical

proceedings of its nabob served to give them the privilege of imperial sway. For, having made an unprovoked attack upon the English establishment at Calcutta, in 1756, he drew upon himself the retribution his conduct merited. The victory gained over him at Plassey so completely broke the power of the nabob, that from henceforth the Company may be said to have had sovereign power in this province. Five years after the defeat of Suraj-ud-Dowlah, the dewany or financial management of Bengal was granted by the emperor Shah Allum to the English; but it was not till the year 1765 that the honour with its accompaniments was accepted. The process withdrew all real power from the hands of Mejum-ud-Dowlah, its nabob, who, with a pension of fifty lacs, or nearly half a million sterling, now held a mere puppet state in his capital Moorshedabad. Since this transaction, the English have retained imperial sway in these three important provinces.

The next acquisition of the Company was that of the Northern Circars—a maritime district lying between Bengal and the Carnatic—which was annexed in 1768. The cession of this territory had been obtained by Clive from the emperor in 1765, contemporaneously with the grant of the Bengal dewany; but, inasmuch as it was at that time in the hands of the nizam, the present was a merely nominal one. In 1768, however, his sanction was obtained by force of arms; and the territory then passed by treaty into British hands. In 1816, the province was overrun and plundered by the Pindarees. It has, however, remained an integral portion of the English possessions to this day.

In 1797, the fortress of Allahabad, situated at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, and commanding an extensive district to the south of Oude, was given up to the English by the vizier of that province. This important stronghold had owned many masters. In 1758, it was seized by the vizier; but, upon his defeat at Corah in 1765 by General Carnac, it was, together with the district of Corah, restored to the emperor. Seven years

later (1772), these districts were offered to the Mahrattas as the purchase of immunity from their depredations; for having overrun Rohilcund and the Douab, this people had seized upon the imperial city of Delhi. The Company objected to the arrangement; and the transfer was therefore not effected at the time. Its acquisition by the English added but little to their territory. Its strategic value, however, was considerable.

In 1792, Tippoo Sahib, as a peace-offering, ceded to the Company Malabar, Salim, and other places by which the territorial area of the English was enlarged by some 25,000 square miles. This cession, however, was a mere anticipation of an arrangement by which the entire dominion of Mysore was afterwards added to the possessions of Britain.

In 1800, the boundary of the Madras presidency was pushed beyond the Carnatic. The Rajah of Tanjore, an ancient Mahratta state situated to the south of the Cauvery, died childless in 1787; and a dispute having arisen respecting the succession, Lord Mornington placed its affairs under British control. The state of Surat, likewise, whose affairs had hitherto been administered by the nabob's government and the Company's officers, was brought entirely under British control.

In 1803, by treaties which followed upon the great Mahratta war, a considerable extent of territory was added to the Company's dominions. Cuttack, to the south of the Mahanuddy, and the northern half of the province of Berar, with the strong fortress of Ahmednugger, were ceded by Rughojee Bhoslay, rajah of the latter; while the great Mahratta chieftain, Scindia, was compelled to abandon the Douab—the country lying between the Ganges and Jumna—with Delhi, Agra, Meerut, and other places, considerable portions of the districts of Rajpootana, the Deccan, Guzerat, and Kandeish. The Peshwa's possessions in Bundelcund had previously been ceded to the Company. The hold of the English upon Berar was but a temporary one, as it was immediately afterwards attached to the dominions of the nizam.

In 1808, the government of the provinces of Cochin and Travancore, hitherto merely subsidiary, came into the possession of the Company. Three years previously, an arrangement had been made by which the rajah was guaranteed possession of the provinces upon condition of his promptly paying the subsidy as arranged. The payments, however, came in very irregularly, and the terms of the treaty being violated thereby, the arrangements for the transfer of the dominions to English rule were carried out.

The Ghoorka war, which occurred in 1814, added the province of Kumaon and other territory to the Company's dominions, and pushed British territory northward to the Himalayas. At the same time, the dominions of many of the hill chiefs were brought under British jurisdiction.

In 1815, the kingdom of Kandy in the centre of Ceylon was, at the request of its chiefs, annexed to the dominions of Great Britain. The coast provinces had been captured from the Dutch and annexed some twenty years earlier, in 1796; and thus the entire island of Ceylon was brought beneath the British sway.

By a treaty made with the Mahratta chief Holkar, in the year 1818, certain districts in Rajpootana were added to the Company's territories; while the residue of his dominions was placed under British protection.

Such acquisitions as these lately referred to are, however, dwarfed into insignificance when compared with the large area of territory which, in 1818, came into possession of the British; for then the successful termination of the second Mahratta war added the extensive dominions of that nation to the Company's territories. Upon the capture of Sattara, the capital of the confederation, the termination of the Peshwa rule, which had been maintained for about a century by a succession of able princes, was declared. The Peshwa territory was occupied and divided into four districts, to each of which a governor was appointed. The aggregate result of the Mahratta overthrow was the acquisition of the district and city of Poonah — the seat of the Peshwa government; the

Sangur Territory, North Circars, Kandeish, and other districts taken from the Peshwa; and Ajmere and a portion of Rajpootana obtained from Dowlat Rao Scindia, altogether comprising the enormous area of 60,000 square miles. The district of Sattara was reserved for the heir of the illustrious Sivajee, who had long been held in durance by the powerful Peshwa.

The successful termination of the Burmese war, which broke out in 1825, gave Britain dominion beyond the confines of the Indian peninsula; for, by the treaty of Yandaboo, concluded in 1826, the provinces of Assam, Arracan, Tavoy, and Tenasserim, with an aggregate area of 80,000 square miles, were added to the Company's possessions. At the earnest request of its inhabitants, the district of Pegu was annexed in 1853, at the close of the second Burmese war.

British dominion in India was largely extended by the acquisition, in 1832, of the administration of the government of **Mysore**. The defeat of Tippoo, and the capture of his capital, Seringapatam, had placed this province and its dependencies at the mercy of the victors. With amazing liberality, the governor-general, Lord Mornington, declined to annex his territory which the right of conquest gave him. He chose rather to reduce the Mysorean dominion to its original dimensions, by restoring to the Nizam and the Peshwa the conquests of Tippoo and his predecessor, and devoting another portion to the extension of the British frontier in this quarter; while the ancient dominion of Sivajee was bestowed upon the real rajah, who at the time was a mere boy. As the young prince grew up, he betrayed a marked inaptitude for the duties of government; and when, in 1811, he arrived at man's estate, and was invested with uncontrolled authority, the affairs of the state, hitherto prosperous, fell into the direst confusion. Disregarding the repeated warnings of his English allies, he pursued a life of extravagance and frivolity; and his subjects, groaning under his exactions, and wearied with his misgovernment, broke out into rebellion. The condition of the province had

become a serious danger; and, in the interests of peace, the government of India took upon themselves the management of its affairs (1832). This transaction gave the British the virtual possession of Mysore.

In the same year (1832) the little state of Cachar in the north-east of Bengal was added to the dominions of Britain.

The war with the Ameers of Scinde, conducted in 1843 by Sir Charles Napier, added the riverain district of Scinde to the dominions of the East India Company. The British troops, having defeated the Ameers at Meanee, took possession of Hyderabad, which fortress they garrisoned. Such of the Ameers or princes as fell into the hands of the English were subjected to an honourable imprisonment in Bombay, or sent on parole to Beloochistan. Thus an extensive tract of country became an integral portion of the Company's dominions, and gave to the English territory beyond the Indus westward.

In 1846, the defeat of the Sikhs at the decisive battle of Sobraon, threw that people upon the mercy of their English adversaries; and Sir Henry Hardinge appropriated that portion of their territory which lay upon the eastern side of the Sutlej, including the Jullunder Douab, or the district lying between the Sutlej and Beas; and thus the Sikh States, an extensive district, was added to the English dominions in Northern India.

When the Mahratta provinces were annexed to the Company's dominions in 1819, the district of Sattara, which represented the ancient domains of Sivajee, was placed under the authority of a descendant of the illustrious founder of the Mahratta polity. In 1848, the rajah died childless. Previous to his decease, he had adopted an heir. The Indian government, however, refused to recognise the principle of adoption, and the state was held to have lapsed to the British. Territorially speaking, Sattara was of no very material value to the Company. Its moral importance, however, by virtue of its associations was considerable.

In the same year, 1849, a far more considerable increase

In the area of British territory in India was made by the annexation of the extensive province of the Punjaub. Its inhabitants, the Sikhs, having a second time challenged the might of Britain, were totally overthrown at Goojerat by Sir Hugh Gough; and Lord Dalhousie—less scrupulous than his predecessor—boldly annexed the whole province. By this accession of territory, the entire north-eastern corner of the peninsula was brought under British rule.

In 1853, the province of Berar, whose capital was Nagpore, became British territory. It had, upon the close of the Mahratta war, been annexed to the dominions of the nizam. The affairs of the province, however, were so grossly mismanaged, that, upon the death of Rughojee Bhoslay in 1853, it was added to the Company's possessions. Thus the area of British dominions was increased by some 75,000 square miles.

The last territorial acquisition of the English in India was that of the province of Oude, which took place in 1856. The annexation, it will be remembered, was a consequence of the bad government of its king. The process, which has been the subject of much severe comment, added little short of 30,000 square miles to the British dominions, and virtually brought the entire peninsula beneath our sway; for although two-thirds of Hindustan only is at present under the direct rule of our sovereign, the connection of the remaining portion is of such a nature that the independence of the states comprising it is but nominal.

Of the progress of British sway, the history of India is a mere chronicle. The commercial enterprise of our countrymen during the Tudor period gave us a first footing in this eastern land. The career of Clive substituted empire for mere sufferance; and upon the foundation which his genius laid, the vast fabric of British dominion arose. The process was very gradual at first; but during the last half century its development has been altogether as rapid. The occurrences of the year 1857 placed the edifice in the greatest jeopardy; for it was within the

bounds of probability that British power in India would cease. This, however, was not to be. The patience and perseverance of our countrymen, and the loyalty of the general body of the population averted the threatened calamity; and this splendid empire—now under the direct rule of Her Gracious Majesty—is reserved to us for our honour, it is to be honoured, and the welfare of its people.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE LEADING INDIAN STATES.

Break-up of the Mohammedan Empire—The Emperor's Territory—The Province of Oude—Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa—The Deccan or the Nizam's Dominions—The Carnatic—The Mahratta Country—Its Rise and Condition—Mysore—Minor States.

ABOUT the middle of the eighteenth century, when the administration of Anglo-Indian affairs was in the hands of Clive, the greater part of the Indian peninsula had ceased to own the sway of the Emperor of Delhi or Great Mogul. The vast empire of Aurungzébe was no longer a homogeneous territory. The integrity of the ancient dominion, which his genius had barely served to maintain, could no longer, under a succession of feeble princes, be upheld; and the soubadahs, nabobs, and rajahs, who, as viceroys—Mohammedan and Hindu—had ruled the various provinces into which the empire was divided, began one by one to assert an independence of the imperial court of Delhi. "Wherever," says Macaulay, "the viceroys of the Mogul retained authority they became sovereigns. They might still acknowledge in words the superiority of the house of Tamerlane; as a Count of Flanders, or a Duke of Burgundy might have acknowledged the superiority of the most helpless driveller among the later Carlovingians. They might occasionally send to their titular sovereign a complimentary present, or solicit from him a title of honour. In truth, however, they were no longer lieutenants removable at pleasure, but independent hereditary princes."

In this way arose most of the principalities with whose several concerns we have had to deal. Roughly speaking,

at the period above referred to, the Indian peninsula may be said to have been thus divided:—The Emperor's Territory, represented by Delhi; Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; the Deccan, Carnatic, Mahratta Country, and Mysore.

The Emperor's Territory had, as has been remarked, shrunk into insignificance when we compare its present with its ancient area and influence. Established in 1193 as the seat of Mohammedan government by Kuttub-ud-Deen, the deputy of the Afghan prince Mohammed Gaury, the city of Delhi continued to be the virtual capital of India, and the seat of government of the various races of sovereigns into whose hands the imperial sway successively fell. The splendour and magnificence of the imperial city, and its great political importance, long rendered it an object of incessant attack from the Mahrattas, Afghans, Persians, and other neighbouring and warlike people. In 1760, the city and all it represented became a bone of contention between the Mahrattas and the Afghan general Ahmed Shah Abdally. The decisive action of Paniput broke for a time the might of the Mahrattas, and secured the prize to the Afghan king.

The last representative of the royal line of Aurung zebe was no more, having been put to death by his treacherous vizier Shaub-ud-Deen. His son, a fugitive in Bengal, had indeed proclaimed himself emperor, and assumed the bombastic title of Shah Allum or King of the World; but the imperial dominions, once so extensive, were represented by a few unimportant districts around the city of Delhi. Such of its territory as had escaped the usurpations of its viceroys were in the hands of Ahmed Shah, whose conquests in this part of India had, in a measure, restored to the Afghan crown the ancient dominions of that nation in this country.

The province of Oude, long an immediate dependency of the Mogul, was early governed by a deputy of the emperor, who was styled the vizier. At the date of the great battle of Paniput, which decided the fate of the

imperial city, the honour was vested in Suddur Jung. This ruler, having quarrelled with his lord, the emperor, concerning the cession of the Punjaub to Ahmed Shah, retired to his province, bade defiance to his superior, and reigned in complete independence. The connection of Oude with the empire was henceforth merely a nominal one, and may, to all intents and purposes, be regarded as a distinct and separate kingdom owning the sway of Suddur Jung—or rather of his son, Sujah-ud-Dowlah.

The province of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa—if we except the district of Rohilcund, an independent and powerful Afghan state that lay to the north-west of Oude—completes the district of Northern India. It had originally formed a portion of the imperial dominions, having been, so early as the year 1575, brought under the sway of the court of Delhi by the great Akbar Khan. At the time of which we speak it had become an independent province under the government of an English nominee, Meer Jaffier, the successor of the defeated nabob, Suraj-ud-Dowlah. The virtual sovereignty of this province was, however, destined soon to pass into the hands of the English.

The Deccan, or the Nizam's Dominions, as it may be termed, was brought within the pale of the empire by the same master-hand that compelled the foregoing province to bend to the sway of the imperial court. Its distance from the capital, however, and the warlike operations of the neighbouring Mahratta tribes, had rendered it exceedingly difficult of control. During its connection with the empire, which was maintained until the death of Aurungzebe in 1707, its affairs were managed by a viceroy, known as the soubadah or nizam. At the time of the above occurrence it was under the rule of Nizam-ul-Mulk (Regulator of the State, as his title implies), whose capital was Hyderabad. Nizam-ul-Mulk may be regarded as the first of a line of independent sovereigns, bearing the title of the nizam. The influence of the French under M.

HISTORY OF INDIA.

Bussy had secured its government, first to Nasir Jung, and now to Salabat Jung, his brother. But the territory which once had extended northward to the banks of the Nerbudda and Mahanuddy, did not now reach beyond the Godavery—its northern districts having lately fallen into the hands of the Mahrattas; while the Carnatic, which so recently as the time of Nizam-ul-Mulk had been included within its boundaries, was now under the independent sway of Mahomed Ally. The independence of the Rajah of Kurnal, of the Rajah of Vizagapatam, whose territories lay between the Godavery and Pennair, and other chiefs, sensibly curtailed its area towards the south. It therefore now consisted of the southern portion of the old Deccan only.

The Carnatic which lay between the Eastern Ghauts and the Bay of Bengal had, as has been said, been detached from the dominion of the nizam, and was now under the rule of Mahomet Ally, whose independent government was secured by the English. His dominions, which were bounded northward by the Pennair river, and southward by the principality of Tanjore, were curtailed by the presence within their boundary of several independent Hindu principalities, among which may be mentioned that of Arcot, in the possession of Chundah Sahib, a nominee of the French.

The Mahrattas owned an extensive tract of country in Western India, between the imperial dominions and the nizam's territory, embracing Malwah, Guzerat, Kandeish, Berar, and further southward Aurungabad, Bejapore, Tanjore, etc., which latter province had been wrested from the emperor and the nizam. Their territory, however, was by no means a homogeneous one, being divided among certain chieftains who held a kind of independent sway within the bounds of their several dominions. Among these Scindia, Holkar, the Guicowar, and the Peshwa, the nominal head of the confederation, may be mentioned.

This extensive territory they had gained for themselves

by their bravery and superior military talent. At first a mere mercenary tribe, hiring themselves to belligerent princes, they were created a nation by the warrior chieftain Sivajee. The territory of Jhansi, and some estates of lesser importance granted to the Peshwa by the Rajah of Bundelcund, was the humble starting point for that extension of territory which, in due time, made them a power of the first order in the Indian peninsula, and secured them a tributary recognition from most of the Indian states.

Of this remarkable people Macaulay eloquently says:—"It was under the reign of Aurungzebe that this wild clan of plunderers first descended their mountains; and soon after his death every corner of his wide empire learned to tremble at the mighty name of the Mahrattas. Many fertile viceroyalties were entirely subdued by them. Their dominions stretched across the peninsula from sea to sea. Mahratta captains reigned at Poonah, at Gwalior, in Guzerat, in Berar, and in Tanjore. Nor did they, though they had become great sovereigns, therefore cease to be freebooters. They still retained the predatory habits of their forefathers. Every region which was not subject to their rule was wasted by their incursions. Wherever their kettle drums were heard, the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle, and fled with his wife and children to the mountains or the jungles, to the milder neighbourhood of the hyæna and the tiger. Many provinces redeemed their harvests by the payment of an annual ransom. Even the wretched phantom who still bore the imperial title stooped to pay this ignominious black-mail. The camp-fires of one rapacious leader were seen from the walls of the palace of Delhi. Another at the head of his innumerable cavalry descended year after year on the rice-fields of Bengal. Even the European factors trembled for their magazines. Less than a hundred years ago, it was thought necessary to fortify Calcutta against the horsemen of Berar; and the name of the Mahratta ditch still preserves the memory of the danger." At the

time we have chosen for review, the office of Peshwa was held by Ballagee Rao.

To the south of the nizam's dominion, and extending beyond the plateau of the Deccan, lay the territory of Mysore, an ancient state whose connection with the imperial government was never more than a nominal one. The emperor Aurungzebe had invaded the territory and placed it under tribute; but it never was submissive to the authority of the Delhi court. Maintaining an independent government, it was ably managed; and but for the repeated assaults and exactions of its restless neighbours the Mahrattas, would have been among the most thriving of the Indian principalities. The Mysorean dominions were greatly extended by Hyder Ally, who, at the period under consideration, notwithstanding that a legitimate sovereign occupied its throne, was supreme in this powerful province.

In addition to the above states—which, until the annexing and absorbing process of the English was applied to Indian territory—may be regarded as the main divisions of the peninsula, there lay in the north Rohilcund, already mentioned, independent of the court of Delhi, and inhabited by a hardy Afghan race, with a chief named Shahab-ud-Deen at its head; Rajpootana, or a confederation of Rajpoot states, which were nominally tributary to, but virtually independent of the emperor, and too powerful for the effective domination of the Mahratta; the country of the Jats, situated to the east of the Rajpoot states, and extending thence to Agra. Their capital was Bhurtpoor, one of the most powerful fortresses in India; and they were at this period governed by a famous chieftain named Sooraj Mul; Bundelcund, to the south-east of the Bhurtpoor territory, with Rewar. Bhopal, upon the eastern boundary of Malwah, and some others. To the south were Tanjore, connected, as has already been remarked, with the Mahrattas, but owning an independent rajah of its own—a descendant of a

brother of Sivajee; Cochin, a small and unimportant maritime state to the north of Travancore, with a rajah under the tutelage of the Dutch. These, with the states and territories belonging to the various European nations—the English, French, Portuguese, and Dutch—made up the entire peninsula.

The following table of contemporary rulers may be found of service in relieving the student of the wearisomeness of research, and enabling him roughly to discover at a glance the hands that directed the governments of the several states during the period of English conquest.

TABLE OF CONTEMPORARY

DATE.	DELHI.	OUDE.	BENGAL, ETC.	THE DECCAN.
1719	Mahomed Shah.	.. ..	.. .. .	.. ..
1732
1743
1748	Ahmed Shah.	Sufdur Jung.	.. .. .	Moruffur Jung.
1749
"
1751	Salabat Jung.
1754	Alumgeer II	Shujah-ud-Dow-	Suraj-ud-Dowlah.	.. ..
1756	Meer Jaffier (first).	.. ..
1757
1759	Meer Cossim.	.. ..
1760	Shah Allum.	.. ..	.. .. .	.. ..
1761
1762	Nizam Ally.
1764	Meer Jaffier (second).	.. ..
1765	Nujm-ud-Dowlah.	.. ..
"	Syf-ud-Dowlah.	.. ..
1771
1772
1773
1775	Asof-ud-Dowlah.	.. .. .	.. ..
1783
1786
1790
1793
1795
1796
"
1797	Vizier Ally.	.. .. .	.. ..
1798	Suadut Ally.	.. .. .	.. ..
1801	Azum-ud-Dowlah.	.. ..
1803	Sikunder Jah.
1805
"
1807
1813
1821
1823
1829	Nasir-ud-Dowlah.
1836
1842
1844
1848
1856
1862
1864
1869
1878

SOVEREIGNS AND GOVERNORS.

CARNATIC.	THE MAHRATTAS (PESHWAS).	MYSORE.	GOVERNORS GENERAL.	DATE.
..		1719
Dost Ally Khan.		1732
Anwur-ud-Deen.		1743
..		1748
Chundah Sahib.		1749
Mahomet Ally, or	{
Wallah Jah.		.. .. .		1751
..		1754
..	Lord Clive.	1756
..		1757
..	Hyder Ally.		1759
..		1766
.. .. .	Mandoo Rao.	.. .. .		1761
..		1762
..		1764
..		1765
..
.. .. .	Narrain Rao	.. .. .		1771
..	Warren Hastings.	1772
.. .. .	Rughoba	.. .. .	.. .. .	1773
..	1775
..	1783
..	Tippoo Sahib.	.. .. .	1786
.. .. .	Mahdoo Rao.	.. .. .	Marquis Cornwallis.	1790
..	Sir John Shore.	1793
Oomdut-ul-Omrah	1795
.. .. .	Chimnaje.	.. .. .	.. .. .	1796
.. .. .	Bajee Rao.	.. .. .	.. .. .	..
..	1797
..	Lord Mornington, or	1798
..	Marquis Wellesley.	1801
..	1803
..	Marquis Cornwallis.	1805
..	Sir George Barlow.	..
..	Lord Minto.	1807
..	Earl of Moira, or	..
..	Marquis Hastings.	1813
..	Lord Amherst.	1821
..	Lord W. Bentinck.	1823
..	1829
..	Lord Auckland.	1836
..	Lord Ellenborough.	1842
..	Sir H. Hardinge.	1844
..	Lord Dalhousie.	1848
..	Lord Canning.	1856
..	Lord Elgin.	1862
..	Lord Lawrence.	1864
..	Lord Mayo.	1869
..	Lord Northbrook.	1873

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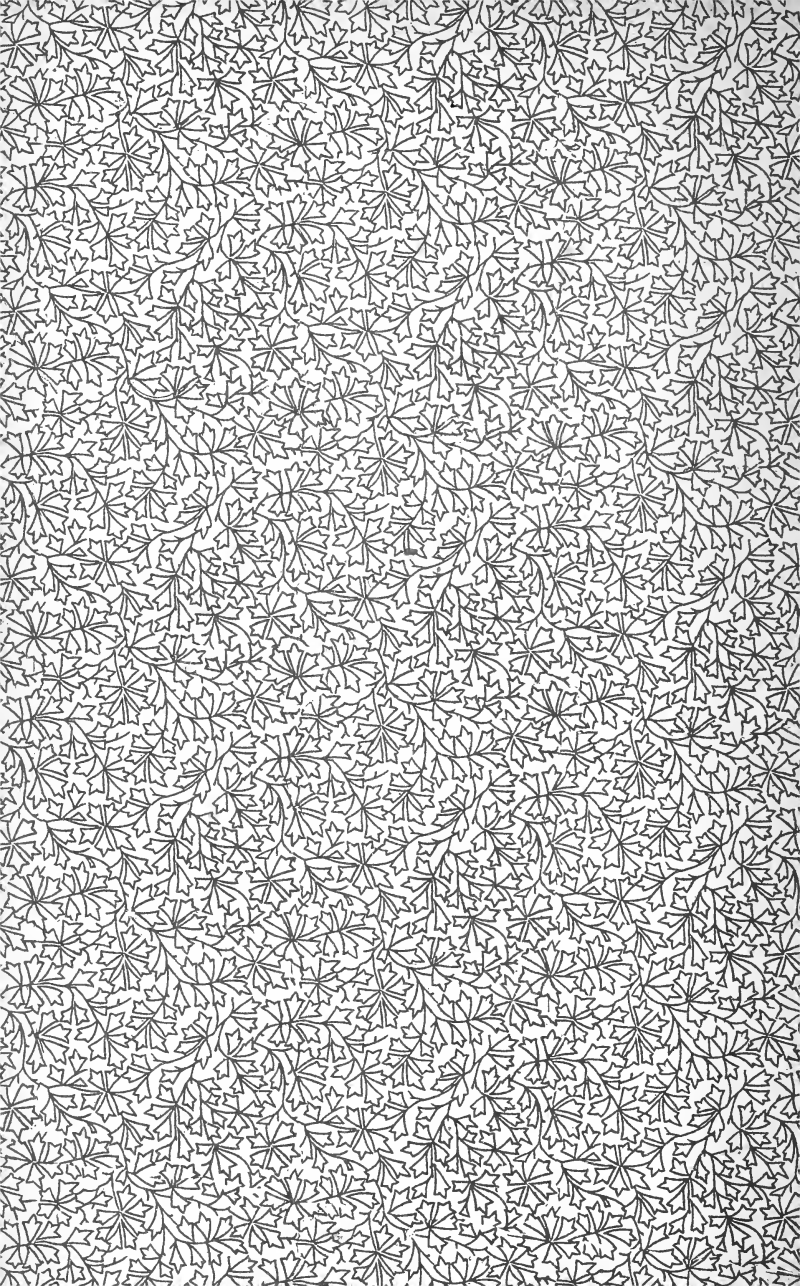
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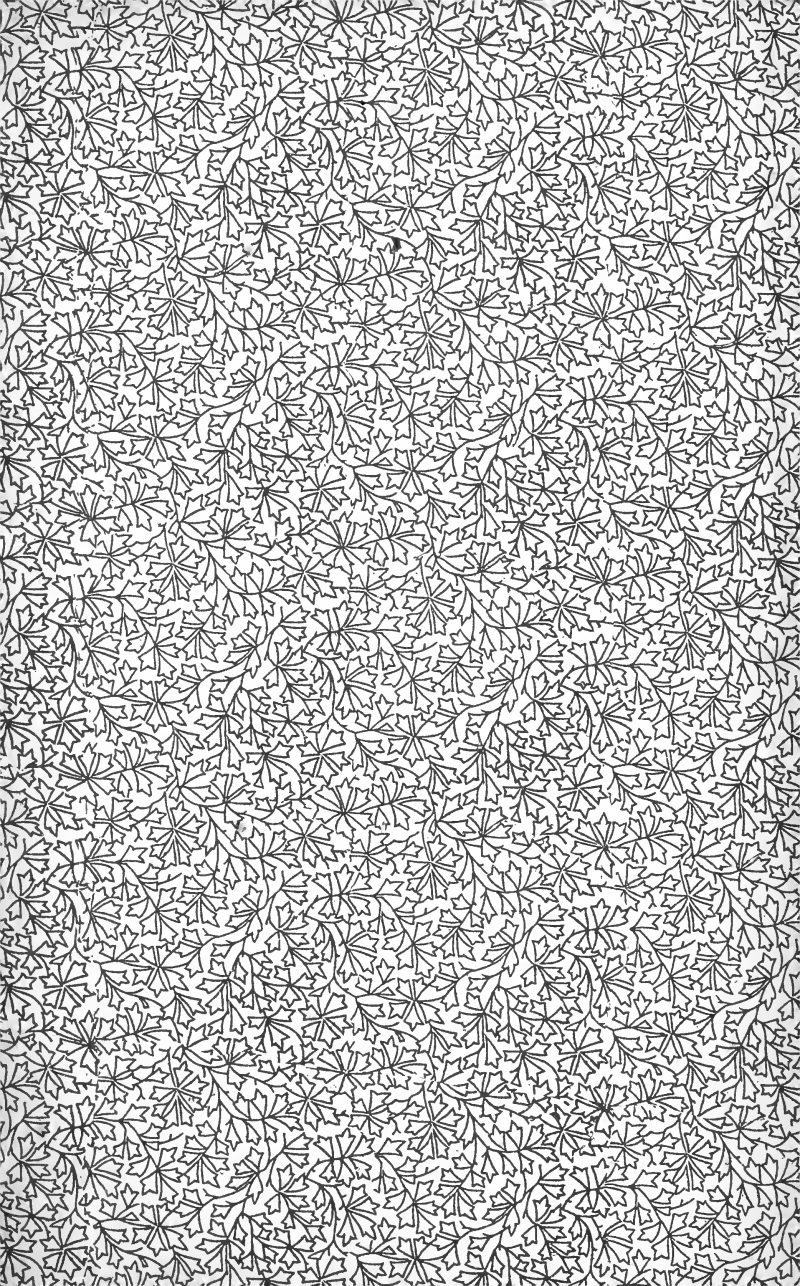
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